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3 October 1979

# West Europe Report

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## FRANCE DEBATES GIVING 'BOMB' TO FRG

Paris LE POINT in French 27 Aug 79 pp 35-37

[Article by Jean Lesieur, Andre Ancian and Leo Michel]

[Text] What with the weakening of American power and the obsolescence of France's dissuasive force, Europe is wondering about the means of defending itself. At the heart of the debate, a key question: Should we give "the bomb" to the FRG?

This has been the most formidable tabu on the political scene for a quarter of a century. Should we give "the bomb" to the FRG? A fundamental question on the tip of one's tongue, one that has never been resolved. The problem: Will European security disappear with a full military association between France and the FRG? Can we share nuclear weapons with Bonn?

Right smack in the middle of the summer, a retired general and an old Gaullist fighter, both fierce partisans of France's dissuasive force, have just dropped a sort of bomb in the laps of Western military strategists. In LE NOUVEL OBSERVATEUR, Georges Buis and Alexandre Sanguinetti agree on a telling statement that is striking in nature: If the FRG does not have access to our nuclear arsenal, there will be no security for Europe.

A joke? Certainly not. In certain circles close to the RPR's [Rally for the Republic] Jacques Chirac, it has even been whispered about that Alexandre Sanguinetti's position statement had been approved beforehand by the Elysee Palace. Is France therefore about to change its military strategy? At any event, there is something in the air. LE POINT had already noted this almost a month ago (No 359).

Our two experts' first argument: The quality of modern armaments is such that nuclear weapons "no longer constitute a dissuasive force aimed at demographic and economic objectives, but a coercive force capable of striking military objectives with very great precision. This means that a war can again be waged in the field and not in the two well-protected sanctuaries of the United States and the USSR." In the field, therefore in Europe. The conclusion: America's supposed protection of Europe becomes less credible than ever.

The second argument: France's nuclear arsenal has not been adapted. Our weapons do not have the necessary precision to destroy military objectives. We can destroy Kiev or Minsk. But what would the consequences be? A Soviet riposte would wipe out Paris.

The third stage of the demonstration: France, unaided, does not have the means for adapting its arsenal. Great Britain? No, Buis replies. "Great Britain is a sort of American advance post." And its nuclear weapons "are so obsolete that it has become a matter of urgency to renew them. If not, they will be inoperative by the 1990's."

Therefore, we are left with the proposal that the Franco-German team involve the rest of Europe in the constitution of a common defense force administered within the framework of a true federation of states. But this would obviously result in the dissolution of NATO.

Utopia? History would be inclined to reply yes. Every attempt to concretely implement this vague concept of "European defense" has failed. Remember that, since 1950, the Americans, entangled in Korea and obsessed with the defense of Western Europe, dream of rearming the FRG. Then Jean Monnet, the "inventor" of the European idea, stepped in. He realized that the rearmament of the FRG was inevitable. But we might just as well control it ourselves, he thought. The EDC (European Defense Community), a sort of limbo. But what does it involve? The integration of future German armed forces into a European multinational army that takes its orders from the EDC. At the Paris Conference, held on 15 February 1951, France, Italy, the FRG and Benelux accepted the principle involved. A year later, the Treaty of Paris instituted the EDC. Article 38 of this treaty stipulated that the recently created organization should finally have a community political structure. Only, this treaty had to be ratified by the parliaments of the signatory nations. This was carried out by all of them except for the French Chamber of Deputies. Only the MRP [Popular Republican Movement] and some of the independents and radicals voted for it, the socialists were divided and the Gaullists voted against it.

Since then, the notion of a Europe organized for defense has from time to time reappeared. In 1962 Charles de Gaulle proposed a Franco-British nuclear association to British Prime Minister Harold MacMillan in order to beef up the weight of European influence as opposed to that of the United States. This created a scandal in Washington. London was in favor of the proposal. Trial balloons were launched in Paris in 1964 and 1965. Would it be possible to perfect a European defense system based on French and British nuclear forces and on a powerful conventionally-armed FRG? And closer to us, 3½ years ago Leo Tindemans, in his famous report to the European Committee on European Union, aside from the creation of a European armaments agency, suggested "exchanges of views among the Nine on specific defense problems and the European aspects of multilateral negotiations on security."

## Just So Many Pious Voices

A plan was never submitted. So why should we be surprised at Bonn's and Washington's indifference to the debate launched by their Parisian colleague? "Our security lies in NATO and nowhere else," a high German Defense Ministry official said. "Because of our past, we cannot allow ourselves — even if it were only to express the hope of doing so — to one day accede to the rank of nuclear power. The Soviets would not let us do so."

The same tune in Washington: "There is a lack of seriousness in all this," officials and other political and military experts said. In the Pentagon and at the State Department, they first of all noted that a serious analysis of the forces then deployed by the United States, the new weapons systems being developed — the MX mobile rocket and Trident submarine, for example — and the American concern for modernizing its nuclear forces in the theater of operations, that is, in Europe, would sweep away the argument that the American umbrella had been pierced.

Then, in the American capital they raised the question — to say nothing of the FRG's legal obligations not to acquire nuclear weapons — as to what interest the United States could have in financially participating in a greater effort than France which, in the final analysis would never constitute a threat to the Soviets comparable to the one represented by the American forces? All the more so, since the plan for the FRG to finance a good part of the European deployment of new American Pershing II missiles and cruising missiles capable of reaching Soviet territory was about to be realized.

So, another debate for nothing? Beating the air again? No. "Treaties do not last forever," a German expert said. "And you never know. If the Americans leave us in the lurch, we might one day be forced to provide ourselves with nuclear weapons."

And in France our officers shuddered. It was like a laundry day for political leaders to hang out their a priori arguments.

A few weeks ago, two officers on active duty and a former collaborator of Jean Monnet added their 2 cents to the pile of ready-made ideas. "Euroshima" (Media Publications) poses the same preconditions as Georges Ruis and Alexandre Sanguinetti (see LE POINT, No 359): the weakening of American power and the difficulties France has in preserving the quality of its dissuasive force alone. The conclusions they draw differ in the details but not in the fundamental principles: a Franco-British nuclear agreement, to be sure, but also one which will serve as a prelude to the establishment of a European nuclear force (including the FRG); stepped-up standardization of weapons; a pooling of European defense budgets. And ultimately, a European federation with a president, elected by means of universal suffrage, who will have the power to decide whether to push the button or not.

Just the sort of ideas, of course, which make Michel Debre and his friends jump out of their seats.

Just the sort of ideas, however, which demonstrate the existence of a two-fold consensus among a growing number of French "decision-makers":

They feel that a purely French dissuasive force is doubtless at an end.

Without its own means of defending itself, Europe is nothing or at the most an American appendage; or perhaps worse yet, a multinational Finland.

11,466

CSO: 3100

## DEBRE QUERIED ON SHARING OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS WITH FRG

Paris LE POINT in French 27 Aug 79 p 36

[Interview with former French Prime Minister Michel Debre by LE POINT; date and place not given]

[Text] LE POINT: What do you think of this idea of sharing our nuclear arsenal with the FRG?

Michel Debre: A dissuasive force that is not a national one ceases to be a credible one. The strategy of dissuasion is a nonwar strategy. The possessor of the nuclear weapons feels that his force and ability to destroy are such that the enemy will recoil from the very idea of attacking. While the French Government has nuclear weapons, its arsenal will not dissuade the enemy from attacking the FRG.

LE POINT: Why then not let the FRG take advantage of our nuclear might?

Debre: Because the French and the Germans do not hold the same views. For France, the European status quo, which resulted from the termination of military operations in 1945 (and which has resulted in the present situation on the continent), cannot be modified without a freely-entered-into agreement on the part of all states concerned, in the East and in the West. As for the Germans, they are oriented toward a modification of the status quo. Just 2 months ago, Helmut Schmidt said to his fellow countrymen that no German can sleep peacefully so long as reunification has not been effected. This is the fundamental flaw in the notion of "European defense." Behind the same expression lie opposing interests.

LE POINT: What are you going to do to combat these ideas of integration that are beginning to surface in France?

Debre: Several months ago, I sent a written question to the Chamber of Deputies. It was shelved. I am going to reactivate the debate on our return from vacation.

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## BRIEFS

BOMBING INCIDENT IN SOUTH TIROL--On 11 September 1979, an Italian warrior's monument was blown up in Brunek, South Tirol. This was the 10th bomb attack to occur in South Tirol within a year. The monument was completely destroyed and some minor damage was caused to nearby apartment buildings. An underground group calling itself Schutzburg Suedtiroel (Defense Corps of South Tirol) has adopted responsibility for the bombing. This group has claimed credit for as many as six bomb attacks committed in South Tirol within the past 12 months. [Vienna KURIER in German 12 Sep 79 p 2 AU]

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## AUSTRIAN DAILY REVIEWS TRADE OPPORTUNITIES WITH LATIN AMERICA

Vienna ARBEITER-ZEITUNG in German 7 Sep 79 p 7 AU

[Summary] Latin America is a difficult but promising market for the Austrian export economy. The dollar weakness and import restrictions hinder Austria's export situation, but on the other hand some countries are favoring imports by the liberalization and abolition of custom barriers. Some countries already have decided in favor of freer world trade, and this could have an exemplary effect on other Third World states.

There still is a tremendous trade balance deficit, to Austria's detriment, in the trade with Latin America. However, during the first 6 months of this year there has been an increase in both exports and imports.

In exports from Austria, Argentina places first (figures apply to the first six months of 1979) with 343 million schillings, followed by Brazil (269), Venezuela (139), Chile (96), Mexico (82.5), Columbia (47), Cuba (46), Paraguay (45), Peru (39) and Ecuador (31 million schillings).

In imports to Austria, Brazil places first (809 million schillings), followed by Colombia (209), Argentina (191), Mexico (145), Chile (135), Costa Rica (126), Nicaragua (106), Honduras (105), Guatemala (99) and Ecuador (97 million schillings).

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## BRIEFS

REFUGEE WAVE--This summer, 2000 applicants for asylum arrived in Austria, that is 90 per day; most of them--about 80 per day--come from eastern states: Hungary, CSSR, Romania, Bulgaria and the Soviet Union. The majority enter our country as "ordinary" tourists. None of them are rejected in Austria. When the refugee camps are full, they are housed in hotels. [Vienna KURIER in German 23 Aug 79 p 1 AU]

FPGE CANDIDATE FOR PRESIDENT--The Austrian liberal party's presidium yesterday [10 Sep] decided to nominate the Austrian ambassador to Peking, Willfried Gredler, its candidate for the presidential elections in 1980. [Vienna DIE PRESSE in German 11 Sep 79 p 1 AU]

CONTRACTS CONCLUDED AT LEIPZIG FAIR--The Leipzig fall fair which closed on Sunday [9 Sep] brought satisfactory results for the Austrian companies exhibiting there: two contracts were concluded between the Hettstedt copper combine and Austrian companies. [Vienna DIE PRESSE in German 11 Sep 79 p 8 AU]

CSO: 3103

## VANDEN BOEYNANTS TO RUN FOR PSC PRESIDENCY

Brussels LE SOIR in French 4 Sep 79 p 2

[Article by J.v.S.: "Vanden Boeynants Could Launch His Candidacy for the Presidency of the PSC on Tuesday"]

[Text] At noon on Tuesday, at the conclusion of the meeting of his party's steering committee, Paul vanden Boeynants, vice prime minister and minister of national defense, will announce whether he will present his candidacy for the presidency of the Christian Social Party (PSC). That is what he declared on Saturday to the 22 arrondissement chairpersons of the PSC, at the conclusion of a very long lunch--4 and 1/2 hours--at the Chez Marcel restaurant at Anderlecht. For the participants, there was hardly any doubt at this time that vanden Boeynants will actually be a candidate.

The presidential election campaign in the PSC opened several months ago. It has in fact been open since Charles Hanin, senator from March-en-Famenne, was named to complete the term of Charles-Ferdinand Nothomb, who was called to the presidency of the Chamber of Representatives.

Since then, many possible candidates have been mentioned: persons not members of parliament, such as Gerard Deprez and Jean-Louis Luxen, senators such as Charles Hanin and Pierre Mainil, deputies such as Joseph Michel and Freddy Francois. In a party unpleasantly surprised by its setback in the European elections, this multiplicity of candidacies is feared. Thus, the temptation is great to rally around a known and relatively undisputed personality.

Furthermore, one hears in the PSC, if vanden Boeynants accedes to the presidency, it will be possible to prepare for the arrival of a young and dynamic element at the head of the party. The PSC, like the other parties, has obviously been impressed by the success of the Van Miert operation among the Flemish Socialists.

What will the other potential candidates do if the minister of national defense clearly manifests his intention to reinstall himself in the offices on rue des Deux-Eglises, 13 years after having left them?

Joseph Michel, deputy from Virton and former minister, has as of now let it be known that he would be a candidate only if vanden Boeynants were not. Freddy Francois, deputy from Huy, has taken the same attitude. For several months, Charles Hanin has no longer shown a desire to remain in the presidency.

Finally, only Gerard Deprez has declared that he would be a candidate come what may.

It is reported that on Saturday evening Mr Jaumotte, PSC chairman for the arrondissement of Nivelles, asked him to withdraw. It remains to be seen what will be the attitude of the members of the "group of 40" who instigated and supported Deprez's candidacy.

The race for the presidency of the PSC could, should the occasion arise, produce an odd spectacle, to say the least, if the vice prime minister, vanden Boeynants, were led to pit himself against his own cabinet chief, Deprez.

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## PRL'S GOL COMMENTS ON PARTY'S VIEWS, OUTLOOK

Brussels LE SOIR in French 6 Sep 79 pp 1-2

[Commentary by Jean Gol, member of parliament and chairman of the Liberal Reform Party: "Demands of Liberal Revival"]

[Text] In confirmation of the newly restored unity of Wallonia's and Brussels' liberal reformists, the Liberal Reform Party (PRL) elected me its chairman on 23 June 1979 as successor to Andre Damseaux. As a result, I also succeed him today as party spokesman here in LE SOIR's "Open Forum," a position he filled on 50 successive occasions. I do so with the same feelings of respect, appreciation, and friendship. As chairman of the Walloon liberals, Andre Damseaux made a great step forward in the reunification of the center by founding the PRLW [Party of Liberty and Walloon Reform]. He then brought the liberals of Wallonia and Brussels together within the PRL. More than 70,000 voters recently expressed their confidence in him by electing him as their representative in Strasbourg [European Parliament]. He is well-qualified for this European assignment he has chosen. By devoting himself entirely to that task, he is setting an example of responsibility and democracy.

On behalf of all liberals, I thank him, wish him luck and Godspeed.

I have assumed leadership of the liberal reformists of Wallonia and Brussels at a propitious time for liberalism, provided it can be self-demanding.

Abounding in new energy, will the Belgian liberal tree nurture branches strong enough to begin to rise again?

In other countries, the liberal intellectual message is regaining strength and vigor. For the first time in many years, philosophical, economic, sociological, and political liberal thought--admittedly diverse and very unequal--is regaining the initiative throughout the universities, press, and bookstores of the Western World. It is putting supporters of the prevailing Marxist doctrine on the defensive. It is obliging them to resort to increased

dialectic or simplificative abuse. In the principal European countries--France, Great Britain, and the FRG--politicians with liberal convictions have risen to positions of national leadership and are being kept there by the majority of their citizens. Here in Belgium, the reunification of French-speaking liberals, their victory in the European elections, the increasingly stronger current of opposition to the present CVP-PS-FDF [Flemish wing of the Social Christian Party-Socialist Party-French-Speaking Democratic Front] government, are all recent reasons for us to rejoice and hope.

I am convinced, however, that we shall reap the benefits of the liberal revival, which is showing increasing promise, solely by organized and clear-sighted efforts implying exacting ethics. Such is the difficult road I have proposed to my friends. What are the requirements of the liberal renewal? To tell the citizens the truth, no matter what the cost, to adhere firmly to the consistency of liberal thinking and action, and to amplify the reformist and innovative tenor of the liberal message.

#### Requirement To Tell the Truth

Times of economic crisis require political leaders to be candid, and much more so than do years of prosperity. If we want to mobilize our citizens and get them to participate in a collective remedial effort, we must inform the country, not conceal the difficulties from it, not lull it with illusions. Speaking the language of the truth is characteristic of optimists who believe the country will accept knowing the truth, and that this is the country's only chance to start to react.

We are determined--within the opposition or within the government--to speak responsibly to our fellow citizens.

We are determined to tell them that no individual, no community, no nation can survive, can progress without effort; that no social organization can do without a hierarchy; that no values can last without respect; and that no ethics, no law--guarantees of liberty and order--can subsist without sanctions. We need only point to the laxity that reigns in the school, the family, and economic life to demonstrate how much we need to be reminded of these obvious facts.

If fact, there is a prevalent body of opinion that tends to excuse individual irresponsible actions by readily blaming society or others for them.

We must also make citizens conscious of the vulnerability of a militarily and morally disarmed Europe. I am struck by the "spirit of Munich" that characterizes most of our actions--even the humanitarian ones--in the face of the communist empire's geopolitical advance which is leaving dictatorships and genocides in its wake from Cambodia to Iran.

There is also the hard truth about relations between Flemings and French-speaking Belgians. That truth differs from the common misinterpretation minimizing the depth of the crisis in our existence as a nation. It also differs from the intense contradictory emotions that are irreparably widening the split. The institutions of the Belgian state must be radically changed, with clarity and without delay, if we want to prevent an economic and social crisis from serving as detonator for a "nationalitarian" explosion.

Lastly, and above all, there is the truth about the economy and the budget. Any policy aimed at artificially creating jobs by inflating the number of government employees, by imposing new social and tax burdens on business enterprises, ultimately leads to a further decline in employment. The attempt to create security for all ultimately generates insecurity for everyone.

The reorganization and rehabilitation of public finances demands consistent, rigorous, and arduous effort by all. If we do not quickly revise laws devised in periods of prosperity and now a heavy financial drain, we are heading straight for an additional increase in taxes and public expenditures, a boost in the rate of inflation, and we are endangering our currency.

#### Requirement for Consistent Action

It is not enough to tell the truth, you also have to be believed. The liberals will be believed only if they are consistent with their principles.

For instance, if we want to reduce public expenditures, liberal members of parliament must avoid introducing bills, at times popular, that will cause those expenditures to increase appreciably.

For instance, if we complain about the abuse of legislation and administrative regulations, then we must systematically introduce bills repealing laws that were unnecessary or have now become so. We shall move resolutely in this direction as soon as parliament reconvenes.

Abidance by principles must also guide our attitude toward possible participation in the government. In a neoliberal regime, the natural place for liberals is within the government. But not merely to do just anything, and no matter how. The experience of the French radicals at the end of the Third Republic and of the British liberals today ought to prevent us from becoming involved in strictly arithmetical combinations in which we would carry out the policies of others in exchange for a few minor ministerial positions.

Reducing taxes and public expenditures, reforming the business enterprise, raising the moral standard of public life, and rehabilitating public finances are--let it be known--the goals which hand-picked liberal politicians will have to be able to achieve if they are called upon to govern.

## Innovative Requirements

Because we are liberals and believe in a society based on the fundamental freedoms, we must be the first to want to improve that society, to give it a spiritual uplift that will enable our youth to believe in it and commit themselves in its behalf. Being a liberal reformist means rejecting the fatality that would lead our society to choose between injustice and resignation. We want to be quite different from what we are reputed--wrongly--to be, namely the party of the rich.

Our party platform calls for: making the business enterprise the community property of workers, management, and investors; stopping the deterioration of our environment by pollution and ugliness; combating the mass media's conditioning and partisan stupefaction of people's minds; protecting the income of wage earners and self-employed persons; proclaiming the primacy of education and culture and giving their formative or esthetic quality precedence over the fashions of the times. Who would dare say that this is a conservative program?

Of all the commentaries that appeared after I had publicly outlined my program as new party chairman, I was particularly impressed by the excellence and forceful argumentation of the one written by the editorialist Pol Vandromme.

The question he asked is vital. It can be summarized as follows: Won't the exacting nature of the requirements I have formulated for a liberal renewal discourage the militants of your party and cause the party to lose some of its voter support?

Party militants have already answered that question. They were familiar with my program before electing me. And every day since then, they have continued to answer that question by encouraging me to avoid taking the easy way out. They deeply aspire to reinvigorate their principles.

As for the citizens of our country and our community, I firmly believe they are waiting for exacting language and are prepared to put real remedies before demagoguery, provided we tell them the truth to their face and act accordingly.

This conviction is, in fact, the ultimate justification for faith in democracy.

If you believe that citizens will support only those who, in an effort to flatter them, offer them bread and circuses, you can become a communist or fascist because those doctrines bank on the mediocrity of the people. As a matter of fact, Raymond Aron has clearly shown what is both common to these two ideologies and sets them apart. Communism shows that he who wants to be an angel acts like a fool. Fascism shows that man would be wrong to make an effort to look like a fool, he is too successful at it.

If we respect the citizens, if, in short, we give them credit, we must challenge them by offering them the hard way, the exacting way.

I am sure that, in the face of mounting dangers, this approach is the only one worthy of a society of free men.

8041

CSO: 3100

## 'KNACK' FINED IN TANK PURCHASE AFFAIR

Brussels LE SOIR in French 25 Aug 79 p 2

[Article: "The Tank Affair: the Weekly 'Knack' Is Found Guilty"]

[Text] On Friday, the Vacation Court of the Magistrate's Court of Brussels pronounced judgment in the suit brought by the minister of national defense, Paul vanden Boeynants, against the Flemish weekly "Knack."

The suit had been brought as a result of articles published on the occasion of the purchase of American tanks by Belgium. "Knack" cited a firm controlled by a Zaventem company that has profited considerably from all the military orders placed in the last 5 years and emphasized relations which, according to the weekly, existed between this company and the National Defense office, and stressed that the manager of this company was no stranger to the CEPIC [Political Center of Christian Independents and Cadres] (a PSC [Christian Social Party] wing led by Mr vanden Boeynants) and that he had been active on election campaign committees.

These reports were picked up by several newspapers which received a reply from Mr vanden Boeynants, who considered that they contained insinuations which impugned his integrity.

In his reply, he refuted the existence of privileged relations between his office and the company. In general, the newspapers published the points stated by vanden Boeynants, on the basis of right of reply.

"Knack" included the arguments by the minister of national defense in a new article on the tanks. There was a second letter from vanden Boeynants, declaring that his right of reply had not been exercised since his text had been inserted among other news items. A third story by "Knack," dealing also with the minister's second letter. And a direct summons to the magistrate's court, by vanden Boeynants, of the editor-in-chief of "Knack," the general manager of Roularta, the publishing firm, and of the Roularta company, for refusal to publish the reply to which he had right.

The court declares, in its "whereases," that the legal requirements in the matter of right of reply were not observed. The general manager of the weekly's publishing firm and the editor-in-chief, Messrs De Nolf and Verleyen, are each sentenced to a fine of 4,000 francs or 1 month in prison. The Roularta company, also cited and judged civilly responsible, is sentenced to costs.

The court also ordered publication of a double reply and of the judgment in the weekly "Knack" and publication of the judgment in two Belgian newspapers or periodicals.

11267

CSO: 3100

## GROUP FORMED TO DEFEND FRANCOPHONE FOURONS

Brussels LE SOIR in French 25 Aug 79 p 2

[Article by M.H.: "An 'Action Troop' in Wallonia to Defend the Francophone Fourons?"]

[Text] "Action Troop in Wallonia"--TDW. Three words, three letters, a mystery. According to the BELGA agency, the TDW proposes to "extract heavy payment for any Flemishizing action henceforth undertaken in Wallonia." No reference to any political party, group or movement known, responsible. A single reference, an indirect one: the so-called TDW is supposed to be a riposte to the abortive escapade by the VMO [expansion unknown] on the outskirts of Fouron on 19 August.

In Fouron, the "Action Fouronnaise" [Fouron Action] movement knows nothing at all about the self-styled "new group." There is nothing surprising about that, since Jose Happart, its president, has never concealed the fact that: (1) he feared that violence would break out, that a bloody incident would occur; and (2) "Action Fouronnaise" rejects escalation and sets itself the objective of getting people to understand that the Francophone Fourons have legitimate rights, explanatory work to do, and so.

Well, then? A few hotheads ready to move into terrorism? Or a provocation?

The way in which the so-called TDW presents itself--"as few as two can call themselves a troop," as a Fouron has pointed out to us anonymously--inclines us to think that it is not a politically responsible group.

11267

CSO: 3100

## BRIEFS

- SAUWENS RUNS FOR VU PARTY PRESIDENCY--Several Brabant and Limbourg organizations of the Volksunie (VU [People's Union]) have decided to support the candidacy of Johan Sauwens for the presidency of the party. As is known, the general council of the VU is to choose the successor of Hugo Schlitz, the resigning president, on 8 September. In a party that is recovering poorly from its election defeat of last 17 December, the temptation is great--as in other political organizations--to try an experiment similar to that of Karel Van Miert in the BSP [Belgian Socialist Party]: entrusting the leadership to a newcomer. Johan Sauwens, 28, is a member of the bar of Tongres and has just left the presidency of the VU-JO (Volksunie Youth Organization). He is presently the Volksunie leader on the provincial council of Limbourg and on the communal council of Bilzen. The name of another Limbourger had frequently been mentioned for the succession to Schlitz--that of Jaak Gabriels, deputy from Maaseik and burgomaster of Bree. Gabriels has announced that he will not be a candidate for the presidency of his party. "My local and national duties take all my time," he explained. [Text] [Brussels LE SOIR in French 4 Sep 79 p 2] 11267

CSO: 3100

## FDP STRATEGY FOR COMING ELECTIONS DISCUSSED

Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE in German 30 Aug 79 p 3

[Article by Thomas Meyer: "Not Try To Please Everyone Like a Mass Party-- FDP Favors a Policy of Issues"]

[Text] In contrast to the two "large" parties, where almost everything is said to concentrate on a "duel" between Schmidt and Strauss, the FDP plans to emphasize an issue-oriented campaign in next year's elections. Doing this it wants to compete in both directions, against the Union and keeping a noticeable distance to its coalition partner in Bonn, the SPD. This does not, of course, alter the high probability that a favorable outcome in the elections will lead to a new alliance between the SPD and the FDP. The Free Democrats, whose "loyal voters" amount currently to some 6 percent, want to concentrate especially on the "swing voters," who are said to be extremely "issue-oriented," as the party has determined by means of painstaking polls. The Free Democrats, as their secretary general Verheugen stressed last Wednesday in Bonn, want to avoid trying to please everyone in the campaign and thus to imitate a mass party; they continue to consider themselves as an appealing alternative for the "upwardly mobile" segment of the population.

Verheugen's prognosis was remarkable in that there is in contrast to the past very little talk of personalities in the FDP's admittedly only fragmentary concept for the next 15 months preceding parliamentary elections. Of course, the passage of time may bring the names of Genscher and other cabinet members more to the foreground, but apparently this time such slogans as "The Four Who Count" have not become the main vehicles. On the contrary--in view of the marked personification of the two other camps the FDP sees its opportunity primarily in issues--a development that was quite consciously begun at the Bremen party congress and its resolutions. These issue-oriented topics include pensions and taxes, family policy, energy questions, protection of environment and personal data. Of course, some measure of importance is ascribed to the influence of the new honorary party chairman Scheel; he, however, does not want to participate actively in the campaign, at least not beyond the confines of his Cologne residence. It is likely, however, that Scheel will make a speech at the FDP election congress to be held next June in Freiburg.

Verheugen anticipates the elections of the near future with confidence. In view of the overcrowded affair last Wednesday in the Thomas Dehler House, he predicted: "Things will turn out for us so that we'll be able to afford a larger meeting hall." This is also based on the development of the party. Stagnation, falling membership is said to be over. This year alone 8,000 new members are said to have signed up, raising the total membership to some 83,000.

First, the FDP plans to become involved in the communal elections in North Rhine-Westphalia, to be held this fall. These elections are, according to Verheugen, not to be considered "as a test of anything," but the FDP, being in a rather desolate condition in the largest federal state, desperately needs a consolidation of its position. This in turn could have an impact on the Landtag elections next year. The latter do, to be sure, constitute a test for the federal elections, like the elections in Baden-Wuerttemberg, also scheduled for next spring. In Baden-Wuerttemberg the state party under Morlok's leadership has been considerably strengthened in Bonn's view.

Since Bremen hardly anything has changed for the FDP as far as the issues are concerned. Its pensions policy aims to assure the rise of pensions in exactly the same long-term rate as net income, and its tax policy is mainly directed toward easing the citizen's burden through simplification. The relevant party committee is attempting to find ways for the rational use of available energy sources and for the development of alternate sources of energy. A public congress, to be held in Karlsruhe this November, will discuss protection of personal data. As far as environmental protection is concerned the FDP hopes to present and bring to passage a bill introducing class complaints. The party hopes to accomplish this during the current session of the Bundestag. The Free Democrats also want to take a look at the important educational problems, advocating the introduction of the non-denominational school throughout the FRG as an alternative, but not as "the only authorized educational form."

In this connection the party attempts to appeal to especially important groups, Verheugen explained. Generally consideration is given to the citizens over 60 years, always somewhat neglected by the party, and especially to the wage-earning middle class. But it is well known that the fate of the party depends on the swing voter and therefore that "pool" has been subjected to costly polls, including a questioning of 16,000 voters. These were said to be somewhat averse to choosing a "citizens' party." Thus the FDP expects little competition from the group led by Fredersdorf. On the other hand, the "marginal electorate" between the CDU and FDP is deemed to be decisive. Here in the view of the FDP something is moving, probably due to the decision of the Union in favor of Strauss. From this group, according to Verheugen, people that have long been absent have recently put in appearances at FDP functions. Such realizations, as well as the concentration on the wage-earning middle class that was already noticeable in past campaigns have indicated that in 1980 the FDP election campaign should not be as much "left-liberal" but rather oriented toward the right of the political center.

## SCHMIDT WANTS OSTPOLITIK PROGRESS WITH GDR BEFORE CAMPAIGN BEGINS

Hamburg DER SPIEGEL in German 10 Sep 79 pp 28,31

[Article: "To Get Things Going--The FRG Government Is Again Trying To Start Talks With the GDR"]

[Text] The SED chief gave the impression of being in a good mood. Walking through the grounds of the Leipzig Fair Sunday before last [2 September], Erich Honecker reacted with a new "I am an optimist" to the wish expressed by Bonn's representative in the GDR, Guenter Gaus, for an early resumption of "sensible negotiations" between the two German states.

Restrained confidence has also been shown of late by politicians specializing in Germany policy in the republic in the west. Wolfgang Mischnik, FDP leader in the Bundestag, who together with his SPD counterpart, Herbert Wehner, helped give the needed push to the inter-German dialog in a secret meeting with Honecker at his dacha 6 years ago, can see a "more friendly light" shining again on the "German-German scene."

The SPD's minister of education, Juergen Schmude, all along more devoted to problems of the divided nation than to school questions, says hopefully: "I think there will be a certain movement in the near future."

Berlin's governing mayor, Dietrich Stobbe, while dampening all-too-premature expectations by saying, "At the moment I see more intentions than substance," also has the "feeling that we could get some important things going."

In fact the time appears opportune, for the very circumstance which poisoned repations in past months--the expansion of the government apparatus of repression--apparently is again giving Honecker greater freedom of movement externally: for the moment, the antidetente security faction in the SED Politburo has been appeased.

On the other side the economic crisis into which the worker-and-peasant state has slipped permits the conclusion that there is increased interest in further agreements with Bonn in the economic-technological area. Any more than the other countries of the Eastern bloc, the GDR is unlikely to be able to

avoid a hefty increase in prices. And in light of the tense foreign currency situation, East Berlin would like to know soon how many West German marks it can include in its plans.

But time is also pressing as far as Bonn is concerned. Unless the Germany policy is to be engulfed by the election campaign, the political decisions about a package of negotiations, if at all possible, should be taken by the end of this year.

Backed by the ever-pressing Herbert Wehner, Gaus and Stobbe, who went through the list of German-German topics last Tuesday [4 September], want to build a fire under the federal government. "It is a question of either now or not again for another year and a half," says the head of the Berlin Senat.

There are plenty of subjects for talks:

In the field of transport: Expansion of the Wartha-Herleshausen border crossing; improvement of the Helmstedt-Berlin rail link; extension of shipping routes; construction of an access road leading from the future Hamburg-Berlin autobahn to Lower Saxony.

In the field of protection of the environment: Salination of the Weser by GDR potash plants on the Werra; pollution of the Havel and Spree by both West Berlin and East German industry.

In the field of energy: In addition to questions of an East-West grid suggested by Moscow, primarily the long-term insuring of West Berlin supply by building a natural gas pipeline from the FRG or direct from the Soviet Union.

Industry: In addition to renegotiation, pending for next year, of the GDR interest-free overdraft credit in interzonal trade (Swing), a long-term economic agreement, perhaps on the pattern of the agreement concluded between Bonn and Moscow during Brezhnev's visit to Bonn in 1978.

But even before the federal government reaches a decision about a plan for negotiations, there is again a threat of a comparatively trivial dispute clouding the atmosphere again--namely, the taxing of GDR trucks using West German roads scheduled to take effect at the end of the year.

So far, whereas West German truckers have had to pay hefty fees for being allowed to use GDR Roads, the East German trucking trade has not had to pay such taxes. With the help of the taxing law, Bonn has been hopeful of inducing East Berlin to conclude a mutual exemption agreement.

But when it is a question of hard marks, the GDR--normally always intent on being treated like a foreign country--does not want to let go of intra-German privileges. Forgoing the road-use fees would represent a loss of DM 12 to 15 million a year, according to the calculations of East Berlin's go-betweens. And if Bonn should insist on taxing, the losses, if need be, would have to be offset by a raise in tariffs.

Such countermeasures ("There may be trouble," says an adviser of the chancellor) would, however, be a welcome excuse for the opposition again to seek a confrontation with the SPD and FDP in Germany policy.

As far as the Ostpolitik people around Herbert Wehner are concerned, the case of the trucks is further proof that the federal government under Chancellor Helmut Schmidt and Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher lack a clear overall plan in dealing with the other Germany.

The leader of the SPD in the Bundestag and his helpers above all miss the inclusion of East Berlin in armament control policy, which they regard as the pivotal point of the whole detente.

But whereas Schmidt has long since found attentive interlocutors in the other Warsaw Pact countries with his disarmament proposals ("food for thought," according to Polish party head Edward Gierek). The SED chief, whom he has cut so far, apparently is increasingly assuming a blocking position.

At the very weekend, it happens, when Honecker made optimistic remarks about the progress of German-German negotiations, the SED central organ fired a broadside against those Bonn coalition politicians who, "though they knew better," did "not tire of babbling about the alleged need for 'followup' armament."

8790

CSO: 3103

## EUROPE MUST PARTICIPATE MORE IN SALT, NATO SECURITY POLICY

Cologne RHEINISCHER MERKUR in German 31 Aug 79 p 2

[Editorial by Isolde Pietsch: "Apel Understands"]

[Text] In the next few years the Western alliance will be faced with enormous new problems deriving from the fact that the military balance of power on the European Continent has to be looked at from a different point of view. If heretofore in analyzing this balance of power it has primarily been a question of Eastern superiority in the conventional sector, or of the need to "offset" it, today the Soviet plus in medium-range weapons is very much in the foreground. The new white paper of the federal government on defense (according to the extracts made known so far) mentions 1,300 Soviet missile launchers, submarines and aircraft with nuclear warheads with a range of more than 1,000 kilometers.

Then there is a special listing of SS-20 mobile Soviet medium-range missiles installed so far. In this weapon category, there is a big gap on the NATO side. The question as to how to close this gap, of course, is dealt with by the authors of the white paper. If it were purely a question of balancing the Western alliance and the Warsaw pact militarily, everything would be quite simple. For instance, all that needs to be done is to implement the NATO plans for Pershing II missiles capable of hitting Soviet targets from West European territory. It will be possible in the near future to employ land- and sea-based U.S. Cruise missiles in order to maintain the stability of the Western deterrent system in Europe—in other words, to effectively counter the Soviet threat potential. But, of course, it is not only a question of that.

The authors of the white paper very clearly indicate the explosive political nature of the subject, describing the point of view which the Ministry of Defense and the Foreign Office have worked out with great effort as a "working basis" for the alliance. Briefly outlined, it is as follows: If the Soviet Union cannot see its way clear to make concessions in armament control (for instance, fails to reduce, or continues to expand, its SS-20 inventory), NATO correspondingly will have to bring its inventory up to date (the term is "followup armament"). This would pass the buck to the Soviets.

## Kremlin Fog

Of course there is no telling what cricks Moscow may come up with to pass the buck back again. What actually would happen if in a nebulous form the Kremlin, for instance, were to indicate concessions in the sector of medium-range missiles? This could trap Bonn and the alliance in their own argumentation.

A great deal depends on coordinating the interests between the Americans and their European partners in regard to future SALT III negotiations. What Europe needs there is a guaranteed right to have a say. If this did not materialize, things would look dark. Rightly the defense white paper makes it clear that the "solidarity of the alliance" is being seriously put to the test.

8790

CSO: 3103

## NUCLEAR POWER SHOULD BE KEPT OUT OF ELECTION CAMPAIGN

Cologne RHEINISCHER MERKUR in German 31 Aug 79 p 2

[Editorial by Wolfgang Wiedemeyer, "Dangerous Poker—German Nuclear Policy Running in Place"]

[Text] While all politicians are talking about the pros and cons of nuclear energy, the problems of safety and reconversion of nuclear waste or burned nuclear power plant fuel rods continue to await solution. The committee of state secretaries of the federal government and the Laender established to cope with this task, which met in Bonn last week, had to admit that it was unable to do so and did nothing but outline previously known positions. This places the solution of the problem in the next round of the German nuclear poker game again in the hands of the heads of government of the Laender and of the chancellor. They will meet end of September.

The federal government is sticking to its principles. For a couple of years it has without change advocated the following formula: "Priority for coal existing in German lands as the primary source of energy; as much economy in energy as at all possible; the remaining gaps in demand to be covered by nuclear energy." Nor will the SPD Congress, to be held in December of this year, be able to change anything in this formula. Announcements to the contrary are no more than wishful thinking by a small minority on the leftwings of the SPD and FDP. Schmidt can assume that announced revolutions never take place.

Harrisburg is being forgotten. In the meantime one has proceeded to a sober deliberation of reactor safety. The German study of risks concerning nuclear power plants, submitted recently, demonstrates that the risk of losing one's life in a reactor accident is relatively small compared with the risks in producing conventional energy.

People such as Rainer Offergeld, SPD minister for economic cooperation, or Horst Ehmke, chairman of the energy committee attached to the SPD executive and also otherwise in the forefront of SPD opinion, are about to take the turn after which the road leads to Schmidt and Genscher. The nuclear race has long been decided. The SPD's Erhard Eppler, leader of the Baden-Wuerttemberg opposition, also knows this, whether he admits it or not.

In seeking to implement as many of his energy alternatives as possible, he is espousing a lost cause. His concept that one can forgo nuclear power altogether because the leveling off of growth entails less energy consumption is dismissed by those in power in Bonn as absurd. They have more important things to do in this area of future energy planning than to listen to Erhard Eppler.

No longer the whether, but the how is the focal point of the debate. The safety question is becoming the crucial question. The stand of the federal government on this is clear. It wants integrated safety. This means a re-conversion installation for burned fuel rods because this would insure better utilization of the valuable raw material of uranium as well as safe final storage of fuel elements that can no longer be used. The planned location of the installations was Gorleben, but for political reasons Lower Saxon Minister-President Albrecht rejected this plan. For a start, he wants to allow only final storage in Gorleben, without a re-conversion installation.

The federal government now needs intermediary stores where the burned fuel elements can be kept pending final storage. It has not been able to agree on the location with the Laender. The CDU/CSU leaders, the most emphatic supporters of peaceful use of nuclear energy, definitely oppose an immediate solution of the question of what to do with the atomic waste.

This is grotesque. Particularly Franz Josef Strauss and Lothar Spaeth, the minister-presidents of Bavaria and Baden-Wuerttemberg, will soon have to show their true colors. If—unlike their CDU friend in Hannover—they reject intermediary storage and stick to their no, they will in the final analysis stop the very nuclear energy policy to which they want to convert others. On the other hand, Laender governed by Social Democrats, who thanks to a lack of adequate information are the ones to notice most the resistance against nuclear power, to a large extent are prepared to make intermediary stores available—provided that the safety center in Lower Saxony is established as planned. As planned? That will certainly not happen.

The SPD-FDP and the CDU/CSU are continuing to develop great talent for passing the buck back and forth. Both sides realize that there has to be some nuclear energy. But the longer the question remains unanswered as to how many nuclear power plants need to be built and as to how safety is to be handled, the more will nuclear energy policy become an election issue. And then there will be no predicting the consequences. Even today the CDU/CSU is no longer as smoothly united in endorsing nuclear energy as it was a year ago. As yet the hot subject has not become as emotive an issue in the CDU/CSU as in the SPD-FDP, but that can happen quickly as the time of the election approaches. Albrecht's statement that it is politically impossible to implement Gorleben amounts to speculating on voters' opinions. The Greens will be pleased if nuclear energy becomes an election issue. They are bound to benefit from this.

## PARTY DISCIPLINE MAY BE PROBLEM FOR COALITION IN ELECTION

Cologne RHEINISCHER MERKUR in German 31 Aug 79 p 1

[Editorial by Herwig Gueckelhorn: "Starting Out on the Election Year--A New Edition of a 'Policy of Peace' Will Have to Confront Concrete Evidence"]

[Excerpts] "The members have no sympathy with hesitancy, let alone passivity," says VORWAERTS quoting a secret internal document dealing with strategy regarding Strauss. Terms like "being at a loss" and "being helpless" are specters in this vital issue, causing concern to the SPD leadership. They do, however, characterize only one, though typical, state of affairs in the party spectrum, following the end of the political vacation time, at the start of the election year.

Neither party of the government coalition presents a picture of closed ranks. Both are trying all they can to remove differences of opinion between the two government wings and substantial parts of the base, or at least to cover them up. Interests differ within the government: while the SPD is setting its sights more on unity of the coalition, the FDP increasingly aims at a profile of its own.

Now that the Fredersdorf tax party apparently has already vanished again below the political surface, the FDP will be seen to a little greater extent to be steering the old liberal course, in favor of industry and the middle class, hoping thus to attract CDU/CSU voters who do not care for Strauss. Genscher in questions of security and Lambsdorff in economic matters represent middle-class positions of an active veto, rather than a passive braking, posture.

Thus the delicate maneuvering vis-a-vis the extreme leftwing of the membership has been programed. The FDP federal government ministers have in their mind's eye as a warning example their North Rhine-Westphalian Minister Riemer who is whirling continuously to ward off attacks from all sides. The talking with many tongues--for instance, in the tax debate--is running exactly counter to the hopes for a consolidated image.

With his gift of expressing himself clearly and his courage to speak out, the CSU chairman has an effect particularly on workers who are sick and tired of the sociological jargon of the younger party cadres. Members and voters of the SPD are separated by broad ditches when it comes to questions of taxes, energy, and security. In the first two questions the differences have emerged, and are obvious, earlier than it had been thought; in the last question it will no longer be possible to conceal them. A defense budget reduced in security and a greater threat of Soviet armament do not jibe.

This is also where the coalition confronts controversy. The planned modernization of U.S. nuclear weapons in Europe has triggered strong Soviet pressure, and on the other side the Americans want their German ally to make clearcut decisions. Here too SPD trends talk two different languages; but whoever subliminally almost conjures up a growing U.S. disinterest in Europe at best, with his sophisticated deliberations, fails to convince on the issue of security.

#### An Inflexible Chancellor?

A little bit of the atom, no missile parity, halfhearted tax reduction--not a very convincing election platform. If, on top of this, operator Helmut Schmidt this winter gets into difficulties with energy, the situation of his party will become critical. Naturally the government has been unable to realize the highflying plans of the young Utopians, and disgruntlement there is turning into rebellion. And the middle-class part of the electorate is getting restive about the extent to which the respected chancellor can still be guided by his less respected party.

In this situation, Strauss is anything but the opponent of one's dreams. This is shown by the shaky maneuvering of the SPD leadership. And again there is a conflict, with the activists seeing the opportunities of spontaneous mobilization being squandered thoughtlessly by their own leadership. Whether appeasing slogans, such as that a premature start must be avoided, are of any use remains to be seen. In the CDU/CSU, on the other hand, progress is being made in the lining up even of previously hesitant parts of organizations and the membership behind the candidate for chancellor.

A lot depends on the extent to which discipline will be exercised on all sides. So far the SPD and FDP have always managed to keep their socialist segments at bay in the final months preceding an election. This time, however, the reasons for confrontations are more momentous than previously. In the CDU/CSU it is easy to figure out that a new personnel dispute would finish the election chances.

The differences in the coalition parties can be allayed only in a big offensive under the name of "policy of peace." It is bound to come, with disarmament proposals, agreements, statements and meetings (between Schmidt and Honecker, for example). What will be decisive is whether the CDU/CSU will manage, where it hurts, to oppose to the good-will fog the clarification of a number of concrete issues.

## OPPOSITION IN NORTH RHINE-WESTPHALIAN CDU TO STRAUSS NOTED

Hamburg DER SPIEGEL in German 3 Sep 79 pp 22-23

[Article: "Totally Baffled"]

[Text] Is it possible that Strauss will already fail on the Rhine and Ruhr, the most important voter reservoir of the republic? Even within the Christian Union itself voices and moods are surfacing against the candidate.

Early in the morning the telephone rang at the home of Karl-Heinz Roemer, member of the Young Socialist executive committee of the subbezirk of Siegen. The caller identified himself as Dirk Herrmann and he wanted to know whether he could get "five Stop-Strauss badges" from Roemer.

Comrade Roemer asked who was calling and he found out: "I am a member of the Young Union area executive committee of Siegen, we need the badges because today we are going to the Land rally of the Young Union." Roemer said later: "At that moment I was totally baffled."

A Juso official in Dortmund was just as much surprised when a member of the CDU social committees wanted to order "10 copies of the black book on Strauss" over the telephone, "if possible with a small price reduction."

Of course, requests of this nature which are made by Christian Democrats of their political enemy may be incidental occurrences; however, they are not untypical. A Westphalian CDU Bundestag delegate describes the mood as follows: "The indignation about Strauss as a candidate for the chancellorship continues to be strong."

For those people who would like to see the Bavarian become Bonn's head of state it is even more embarrassing since North Rhine-Westphalia's communal elections scheduled for 30 September are considered a test run for the new model of the Union candidate. And the Rhine and Ruhr Landtag elections on 11 May 1980 are considered the last important preliminary decision preceding the Bundestag elections.

Less importance is accorded by both big parties to elections falling between those dates, the Landtag elections in Bremen (7 October), Baden-Wuerttemberg (16 March) and Saarland (27 April) because, with the exception of the Saar, nothing is at stake. In North Rhine-Westphalia, however--a land characterized by heavily-populated areas, a working-class population and metropolises governed by Social Democrats--more than 12 million eligible voters, almost one-third of all FRG voters, will be going to the polls.

It is there in particular that Strauss is supposed to turn things around because the Catholic hinterland can hardly yield any additional percentage points.

In Dortmund reservations became quite evident last weekend during the party rally of the second-largest CDU group within the Westphalia-Lippe Land organization. The discussion about the future of Kurt Biedenkopf, CDU Land chairman in Westphalia, was only in the foreground. He had to defend his pro-Strauss strategy.

To be sure, it was Biedenkopf who was clobbered during the discussion and reelection--he received only 61.6 percent of the delegate votes, in 1977 he received 84 percent--but it was intended for Strauss. According to a calculation by a member of the CDU executive committee, "every other person who voted 'no' meant to say 'no' to Strauss."

If Biedenkopf had had an opposing candidate, perhaps CDU-Bundestag delegate Friedrich Vogel, periodically favored for this position and a friend of Albrecht of Lower Saxony, who is trailing Strauss, he "would have been eliminated." This is the opinion of Wolfgang Vogt, chairman of the Rhineland CDU social committees.

But it was not easy for the rebels in Westphalia's CDU who had sworn to take revenge on Biedenkopf: Their plans of insurrection were countered again and again with statements of unity in the Union and, after all, there were the approaching municipal and Landtag elections. The fact that party peace was still more or less preserved to the outside, must have satisfied Biedenkopf as well as Heinrich Koepler, the Rhenish Land chairman. Both of them had favored the Bavarian early and ignored the resistance in the CDU Land organizations.

In the process, however, a few party friends were driven away. For the first time in several years, CDU Rhineland, the largest CDU state organization, registered more losses than new registrations. Since Strauss' nomination 267 members have deserted and 182 have left the Westphalian organization.

Bielefeld councilman Wolfgang Schnatbaum, for instance, left because he did not want "to go along with the shift to the right," and in a letter to the Hattinger local Union chairman, a CDU member stated that from now on he would do everything "to prevent Joseph Strauss, candidate for the chancellorship, from becoming Chancellor Strauss."

On occasion the rift even splits families. For instance Christoph Laumann, a brother of Michael Laumann, chairman of the Lippstadt CDU-party organization, could not swallow his anger--"until further notice" he left the Union.

Now the powerful social committees, who are occupying one-third of the Rhenish CDU functionary posts and who dominate the Ruhr territory anyway, are organizing their resistance to Strauss, for whom they have shown a dislike. At the beginning Norbert Bluem, chairman of the social committees, used the slogan "critical solidarity," now he is tempting ambiguously: "We are available if Strauss offers enough programwise."

Bluem's party affiliates agree whenever such sayings are pronounced. But the hangover remains and occasionally it erupts in pure irritation. When the CDU Rhineland press service published an article which was disliked by the social committees, they snapped: The press service is, after all, still "not" yet "a Rhenish edition of the BAYERNKURIER."

And when Christian-Democratic social-committee executives meet, as happened recently in Krefeld-Linn, they occasionally discuss "defection" quite openly. Vogt states, however, that "defection would be unpolitical, a switch to the SPD is out of the question. Consequently, we continue our politics."

Right now, Strauss will at least be tolerated until the municipal elections in North Rhine-Westphalia. He will make four appearances in the Ruhr and the Rhineland; at least CDU spokesman Friedhelm Geraedts hopes that he will fill halls in Essen and Cologne, Bochum and Herne.

But the important thing will not be attendance but approval--and that is highly uncertain. Anyway, SPD and CDU analysis have shown that earlier Strauss appearances did not influence election results. Rainer Maedge, SPD Land manager, stated, "He did not do any harm but he also did not benefit anyone."

But: At that time he did not want to become FRG chancellor either.

8991

CSO: 3103

## FDP SEEKS TO OVERTURN SPD MAJORITY RULE IN BREMEN ELECTION

Duesseldorf HANDELSBLATT in German 29 Aug 79 p 5

/Report by Karl Boehnert on Bremen parliamentary elections: "The FDP Wants To Crack Koschnik's Absolute Majority"/

/Text/ Bremen, 28 August 1979--On 7 October, just over 500,000 citizens of Bremen and Bremerhaven (the two towns which constitute the smallest FRG Land) qualified to vote will elect their new parliament (Landtag). They will decide whether the SPD will continue to rule Bremen on its own with an absolute majority of seats.

In the Landtag elections in 1975, the SPD had dropped from 55.3 percent of the total vote, its highest total so far, to 48.75 percent but nevertheless was able to preserve its absolute majority of seats in the Landtag. Again the CDU and FDP found themselves relegated to the benches of the opposition.

Basically, the narrower SPD base is the only interesting feature of the coming election. Forecasts are being made about whether the SPD will continue to go downhill or will start climbing again. Just as in Hamburg, because of shipyard and dock workers, the SPD is traditionally in a strong position in Bremen. In addition to the three parties represented for years in the Landtag and also in the Municipal Council of Bremerhaven, the SPD, CDU and FDP--lists of candidates have been submitted to the director of elections by another four parties--the DKP, the European Workers Party (EAP), the West German Communist League (KBW) and the German National Democratic Party (NDP)--and four voters associations advocating protection of the environment. These latter are the Alternative List for Democracy and Protection of the Environment (AL), the Bremen Green List, the Green Alternative (GRAL) and the Union for Concrete Environmental Protection (UNU). In Bremerhaven there is in addition the Pensioners Protective Association. None of these groups probably has a serious change of jumping the 5-percent hurdle.

The "prominent" candidate are the same--Hans Koschnik (SPD), Bernd Neumann (DCU) and Horst-Juergen Lahmann (FDP).

The SPD, having continued to be shaken by orientation struggles of its wings in the past 4 years, is bound to remember the jittery election night of 1975. At that time, all of 909 votes caused the SPD to obtain its 41st seat, which secured it an absolute majority and prevented a standoff.

As far as the SPD is concerned, it is a question on 7 October not only of securing a majority in the parliament but of expanding it again. The real drawing card for this is the "great manitu" Hans Koschnik, now 50 years old and personally having resolved to stick more to his desk in Bremen and let others take over leadership tasks in the federal SPD organization.

In the so-called bourgeois camp there indisputably exists a longing for new politics in Bremen, what with the SPD having attained an absolute majority five times since 1946 and a coalition with the FDP having foundered on the Bremen college policy. That happened in 1971. The FDP since that time has persistently pursued a constructive opposition policy, being confirmed in that stand in 1975, when it almost doubled its seats in the Landtag.

For various reasons, the FDP does not regard the Bremen CDU as qualified for a coalition or government. Despite its clear delimitation, it carefully sounds out possibilities of cooperation with the SPD. It definitely rejects any government monopoly in the health service and the abolition of private clinics--on which the SPD leftwing has fixed its sights--, as well as more government control of the middle classes. It would like insure freedom of choice between types of schools. Its supreme election aim is to cut the SPD down to "coalition size." The word is that "the SPD majority must be cracked," and, to achieve this, friends and supporters have been supplied with a tin frog which, if pressed by hand, gives off a "cracking sound."

Pleased at a certain strengthening of the bourgeois camp in 1975, the present Land chairmen of the CDU and FDP are on a first-name basis with each other, but they have not come close in matters of business. The FDP rejected outright a quite clever coalition offer by the CDU.

There has been a change in the Land chairmanship in the CDU. Wholesaler Uwe Hollweg called it quits because of the nomination of Franz Josef Strauss, leaving the leading position to the CDU Landtag leader, teacher Bernd Neumann. The CDU slogan: A better future with us!

A fair amount of "ammunition" has been accumulated, but, judging by the pattern of earlier years (construction scandal, the telephone bugging affair, the Federal Office for the Protection of the Constitution and so on), the SPD is not really vulnerable, the voter being forgetful and, in the last analysis, paying greater attention to loyalty when it comes to voting.

In 1975 the CDU improved its share of the vote from 31.56 to 33.76 percent. By pointing to the "entangled rule" /"Filzokratie"/ of the Land, it is hardly likely to noticeably narrow the gap between it and the SPD. The chances are that in Bremen, which Hans-Dietrich Genscher has called a "playground for socialist sorcerer's apprentices," nothing much will change on 7 October.

8790

CSO: 3103

## BREMEN CHIEF: SPD SEES LAND ELECTIONS AS STRAUSS TEST

Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER RUNDSCHAU in German 7 Sep 79 p 4

[Report on interview with top SPD candidate in Bremen Hans Koschnik by correspondent Lilo Weinsheimer: "Test of Strauss Candidacy"]

[Text] Following the lead of the opposition parties in Bremen, the CDU and FDP, now the Social Democrats, who are ruling the smallest Land on their own, have also started the hot phase of their election campaign for the 7 October Landtag elections. In an interview with FRANKFURTER RUNDSCHAU correspondent Lilo Weinsheimer, the top candidate, Hans Koschnik, for 12 years president of the Senat and mayor, pondered about the Bremen Social Democrats and their political opponents.

The SPD opened its election campaign with an expanded assembly of party officials resembling a routine working session. During it, Koschnik posed and answered the question as to whether an overture to the election campaign utterly without fuss and without the character of a demonstration is not a bit too much of a nice Hanseatic understatement. His own answer was: "No. We view the election campaign as a particularly intensive working phase, not as political show business. If anyone regards this as weakness, he will be surprised."

For these weeks, the Bonn party leadership has given its federal Vice Chairman Koschnik time off to a large extent to attend to his election campaign duties in Bremen. (Koschnik will not run again for the office of vice chairman in December.) And so the popular man from Bremen can be seen not only in a statesman's posture on numerous posters ("The Best Man for Bremen") but wherever people congregate--in inaugurations, at receptions, among small gardeners, in the street, in old people's homes.

Hans Koschnik says that "more important than to make things tough for one's political opponent is to produce arguments in support of continuing a social policy in this Land." He makes no secret of his opinion that his CDU opponent

in Bremen suits him better than his FDP opponent. "The CDU is this Land and its chairman, Bernd Neumann, advocate positions that can be evaluated. From my point of view, these are positions of yesterday, but I know where I stand as far as this CDU is concerned. The FDP, on the other hand, and its chairman, Horst Jurgen Lahmann, on tortuous routes are steering toward their sole objective—to get into the government again."

Alluding to the FDP election campaign symbols (the "bacon trimmer"—to trim the bacon of the SPD majority—and the "jumping-jack cracker"—to crack the SPD's absolute majority), Koschnick talks smilingly of the "bacon trimmers and jumping-jack cracker enthusiasts who are betting on quite the wrong horse, as if the desire to get into the government at all cost constituted a platform."

Concerning charges by the CDU that as a result of a disastrous SPD policy Bremen was on its way to isolation, Koschnick says: "That is an old story. We have heard it since the times of [Kaiser Wilhelm]. The fact is there are good contacts with the neighboring Laender, ruled by the CDU, of Lower Saxony and Schleswig-Holstein. It is also a fact that there is proper cooperation with all Laender. Of course, we do not always meet with agreement, but we are receptive to criticism."

Koschnick supports the new types of schools, surrounded by violent controversy in Bremen, but concedes that the SPD rammed them through too fast and did not discuss them reasonably in time with all concerned. "I am for a dialog about the new school, and it is not too late for that," he says. In Koschnick's view, the pessimism of the opposition regarding the economic future of the smallest Land is "sheer nonsense." He says: "We have the same structural difficulties as all coastal Laender, but we are in the process of reducing our debts and creating many new jobs."

Having been in power continuously since the end of the war, the Social Democrats in the Land of Bremen only very barely held on to their absolute majority 4 years ago. Koschnick's forecast for 7 October is a sober one: "With the proper mobilization of all forces, we will also obtain an absolute majority this time. The latest poll results do not sound bad." In the opinion of the Bremen head of government, the Bremen elections will also be a first test for the candidacy of Franz Josef Strauss—"a test for all those who only yesterday said, 'He will never come here,' and who are now tipping over by the scores."

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CSO: 3103

## POWER STRUGGLE IN SCHLESWIG-HOLSTEIN SPD MAY BE ELECTION ISSUE

Hamburg DER SPIEGEL in German 10 Sep 79 p 124

[Article: "With a Club--A Rare Party Spectacle Is Being Presented by Schleswig-Holstein's Social Democrats, With Landtag Party Leader Imputing an Insufficient Sense of Political Responsibility to the Party Chairman"]

[Text] The Social Democrats in Schleswig Holstein--for a long time apparently a perfect setup. For the greater part, far left on the party's fringe, they generally were also agreed on issues. If there were any differences at all, they were differences in style.

The part of the young Turk has been played from time to time by Guenther Jansen, the Land party chairman, who went so far as to reproach Chancellor Schmidt for having "gone on too many trips abroad with businessmen and bankers." The role of the moderate has been in the hands of Klaus Matthiesen, the party leader in the Landtag, who confronted the pigheaded theorist Jansen with trusting eyes and a mild mien.

Since last week, however, Matthiesen too has been having his say. Twice a top candidate for the office of minister-president and very nearly, together with the FDP, having deprived the Christian Democrat Gerhard Stoltenberg of his majority, Matthiesen made the outright charge that his party's Land chairman lacked the necessary sense of responsibility and was removed from reality.

The vehicle for the dispute carried out in public was a "guideline proposal" drafted by the SPD Land executive last Monday [3 September] for the Land party congress. With a vote of seven to four, the comrades resolved complete "abandonment of nuclear technology"--switching off of already operating power plants in the foreseeable future, no construction of new nuclear reactors and rejection of operating licenses for installations already being built, including the almost finished 1,300-megawatt Kruemmel nuclear power plant east of Hamburg.

Nuclear power, according to the Jansen majority, is altogether too risky, and particularly the waste safety question remains completely unresolved.

The possible shortfall in energy, the Social Democrats want to offset by economy measures and alternatives; just how and how fast, they did not say.

The very day after, Klaus Matthiesen, who had suffered a defeat in the vote, gave a brusque answer to the question which had been left open, saying that it was simply an impossible road to take. While the leader of the opposition in principle also supports a "gradual abandonment" of nuclear power, he says that "de facto, the situation as the resolution would have it" means that "even if there is little increase in the consumption of power in the next few years, we will get into concrete difficulties."

This, he says, is particularly true of Schleswig-Holstein and therefore also particularly of the Krümmel power plant, without whose production one "has to figure on an increasing gap in energy supply." And then the politician took over; the SPD, he said, is "not a party permanently in the opposition but a party that has been prevented from governing." and such a party can be sure of the support of the citizens only if "I remove from them the fear of losing their jobs and their standard of living."

Matthiesen told SPIEGEL: "We are making propaganda for something which simply cannot be launched in Schleswig Holstein." In his protest statement he said that the proposal of the party executive meant "abandoning the ability to govern as far as energy policy was concerned."

While the controversy in the north reflects the dispute in the entire party carried on for months between the position of pronuclear Schmidt and anti-nuclear Eppler, Jansen all along has been running ahead of the pack, charging the chancellor with "no longer acting in solidarity with the party" in energy policy. The Kiel executive resolution, however, goes considerably farther than the stand of the chancellor's opponents, and, moreover, Matthiesen's revolt presents a rare party-political spectacle.

For, in plain language, the statements of the Landtag party leader mean that the policies of the party leadership in the Land may endanger the jobs and standard of living of the voters and that it is impossible to govern with such policies.

Klaus Matthiesen engaged in such a great effort not only because finally, at the third try, he wants to become minister-president; he is also concerned about the good will of the FDP, which finds Jansen too radical not only in the nuclear power question and which as recently as before the last election had pleaded together with Matthiesen for the Krümmel power plant. Finally, Matthiesen is also vying for accord with the trade unions, which did not even care for the top candidate criticizing nuclear power in principle.

"Matthiesen's line is also full of question marks," says Hans Schwalbach, head of the Northwest District of the OeTV [Public Service, Transportation and Communications Union]; "You can no longer find your way through the to-and-fro of the many resolutions." On 6 October, however, when the Land party congress will meet in Fehmarn, the Social Democrats will have to find their way--to Jansen or to Matthiesen.

The leader of the party in the Landtag ("I will fight for it") wants the delegates to amend the executive resolution, preventing it from coming up for discussion unchanged at the SPD Federal Party Congress in Berlin in December. For this, says one of his confidants, would "make it too easy for Schmidt to take a club and start beating the opponents of nuclear energy, and Mathiesen does not want to be his patsy there."

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CSO: 3103

## TRAINING OPPORTUNITIES FOR LDC WORKERS IN FRG OUTLINED

Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE in German 11 Aug 79 p 11

[Article by Ulla Hoffmann: "Development Aid in the Middle of the Federal Republic"]

[Text] The "Mannheim School" has up to now been a term in the history of music, dating back 200 years to the court of the Palatine Elector, referring to the composers Stamitz and Cannabich and the previously unheard-of orchestra discipline they cultivated. Today the "Mannheim School" is a concept of development assistance that is much more familiar outside in the Third World than here at home in the industrial town on the Rhine and Neckar [rivers]. For in Mannheim, on Kaethe-Kollwitz-Strasse, the German Foundation for International Development is training those young Africans and South Americans, Arabs and Asians, who will later train young skilled workers in technical vocations in their own home countries.

After his sojourn in a country which was not a colonial power, something of those much-marveled qualities and capacities which the undimmed "Made in Germany" label and the no less legendary German economic miracle have evoked attaches in the eyes of his countrymen to the young technical instructor in Ghana, Manila, or Caracas who has been through the "Mannheim School." The "Mannheimers" as they call themselves outside, are sought-after people, and some of them return to the Federal Republic in other functions. The economic attache of the Colombian Government in Bonn belongs to this circle as well as the Syrian state secretary for technical education in Damascus.

The cradle of these careers is the "Center for Industrial Career Promotion" of the German Institute, which has been devoted to the training of skilled workers and vocational education in the developing countries since 1962. With the help of German industrial and craft enterprises, in the course of about 2 years in the FRG it advances young skilled workers and craftsmen of the Third World who have gone through one of the German technical schools in their homeland to the point where they are able themselves to give instruction in these schools after their return and train young skilled workers in their turn. The center particularly exploits the advantages of the German

dual vocational training system. Even in the instruction plan the teaching of theoretical knowledge alternates in the schoolroom with the acquisition of practical abilities in the shop.

Mannheim is the center in which the first contact with the foreign land occurs and the language is taught. The land centers in Berlin, Solingen, Gross-Gerau and also in Mannheim have taken over the actual further training in the school and in the plant. Among the sponsoring firms which are always ready to take the young foreigners are large German firms of world reputation, such as Daimler-Benz, BASF [Baden Aniline and Soda Factory] and Siemens. But the foundation is particularly interested in cooperation with small and middle-sized plants whose working conditions approach the situation attainable in the developing country. The small plant which winds armatures, or the shop which repairs automobile engines, is rated as the ideal partner in training. The host enterprise and its instructors must have sensitivity beyond the actual advanced vocational training in order to penetrate the other's sensitivity and intelligence and deal with it. Not only Karl Stuetzle, the director of the center, rates the enterprise highly in that such training was always possible despite periods of tense labor market conditions.

The original goal of the "Mannheim School," namely to provide development aid via vocational training which creates a capability of one's own, has been retained throughout the years.

In the meantime, lateral measures have been added. Paired with the training of technical shop instructors there are information seminars for high officials in ministries and agencies of the Third World who are made acquainted with this form of development aid. "Flying instructor groups" hold continuing education seminars in the developing country in order to demonstrate new technical understanding, perhaps of synthetics processing on the spot. A training materials center in Mannheim sets up on demand a training program and materials for a welding course in the Sudan, for example, or a pneumatics course in the Philippines, and sends it to the school there. Furthermore, the developing country shares the resulting training and servicing charges to the extent of its financial ability, or even bears the entire cost.

Since the opening of the Mannheim Center in 1962, about 2,500 shop instructors have been trained there. Together with the seminar participants, the circle expands to 3,000 people. They come in about equal proportions from Africa, South America, the Middle and Far East. Of the roughly 100 technical schools and vocational training centers which the Federal Republic has set up in 70 developing countries of the Third World, about half are now run by local instructors: by "Mannheimers," as Karl Stuetzle says with a chuckle.

The greatest demand in these schools is for the training courses in the metal trades, with welding and forging, electrical engineering trades up to the level of electronics engineer, automotive trades, refrigeration technicians and carpenters.

In contrast to the offer of academic training, which is long and expensive and often leads to alienation from the homeland for the student, vocational training seems to come much closer to the idea of development assistance. What is being accomplished in Mannheim serves the development of a solid middle class which does not have to fear unemployment and keeps itself well above the turmoil of politics. Not a few "Mannheimers" have climbed to leadership positions or have themselves founded smaller plants--although advisory assistance in the establishment of plants is still lacking in this concept of development aid.

Stutzle, who is now leaving as director of the center because of age, knows of only a few people who have gone through this institute and later become the flotsam of political development at any point in the world. He is not even worried about the four shop instructors from Laos who--with a Mannheim diploma and skilled worker's certificate from a German chamber of commerce and industry in their escape baggage--left Laos a few months ago as refugees and made their way to Mannheim with their families, with plans to live here. "I also have respect for those who stayed," says the heavy-set man--a graduate engineer, senior director of studies, doctor honoris causa of the University of Bangkok--and looks out at the lawn in front of his office where two children are playing, with black hair, round faces and unmistakable Asiatic features. "Do you speak good German yet?" he calls down. "Grandpa Suessle is smoking a cigar," one of the two children laughingly shouts back, still far from any later integration problems which might await a girl from Laos in Germany. Where does development assistance begin; where does it end?"

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CSO: 3103

## TRIAL AGAINST NEO-NAZI TERRORISTS DESCRIBED

Hamburg DER SPIEGEL in German 3 Sep 79 pp 129-130

[Article: "No Corpus Delicti--The Verdict Against 'Gau [Nazi province] Leaders' and Young Nazi Party Members in the First Proceedings Against Rightist Terrorists Is Due This Week"]

[Text] It was the usual setup known from other terrorist trials: police with submachineguns, triple checks of ID documents, tickets of admission.

Whoever wanted to get into the courtroom had to abandon just about everything except what he was wearing--sometimes even chewing gum and mints. A sheet of instructions for visitors also enumerated such prohibited objects as bags of dye and bottles, eggs and knives, nail files and "disruptive instruments (bells, horns, musical instruments and so on)."

And for security reasons the proceedings, extending over more than 3 months, were held in the Bueckeburn Penitentiary--this time not against leftist but against six extreme rightists. The charge, previously leveled only against disciples of Baader-Meinhof, was "formation of a terrorist association."

At the head were a lieutenant, a "convinced National Socialist" as he professed, and a staff noncommissioned officer, also a "dyed in the wool" nationalist. Both had been dismissed from the Bundeswehr [FRG Armed Forces]. With a photo store assistant, a commercial engineer, a mason and a stacking-vehicle driver, Michael Aloysius Alfons Kuehnen, 24, and Lothar-Harold Schulte, 25, intended to pave the ground for "a coup by extreme rightist forces planned as the last stage of an underground struggle."

This is what was recorded in 38 files of investigation by the Office of the Federal Public Prosecutor in Karlsruhe: Under the command of Kuehnen, head of the Hamburg "Action Front of Nationally Oriented Socialists" and Gau leader of the "NSDAP-AO," the six, inspired partly by the "Viking Youth" and partly only by "German song heritage, cultivation of folk customs, folk dancing and so forth," planned to engage in terrorism with a "werewolf" organization.

It was intended to attack military formations of the Bundeswehr, stage explosive attacks against NATO forces, demolish the Berlin Wall, disrupt the transit traffic to Berlin--by blowing up a GDR truck--under the guise of "Leftist" actions."

A start was made by Schulte and photo assistant Wegener. First they mugged the noncommissioned duty officer in the Bismarck Barracks in Wentorf, stealing an automatic rifle, and then they seized money, jewelry, weapons, ammunition and ID documents to a value of more than DM 60,000 in Cologne.

Soon they aimed at more far reaching objectives. The Klarsfeld couple was to be "liquidated" and Rudolf Hess to be freed, "action squad operations" were planned on the GDR border, as well as the arrest of "occupiers" and the bombing of the Bergen-Belsen concentration camp memorial.

For a start, according to findings by the Office of the Federal Public Prosecutor, they seized DM 66,000 for their war treasury in a raid on the branch of the Hamburger Sparkasse [Hamburg Savings Association] at Voksdorfer Damm 272, armed with a submachinegun, a handgun and an automatic rifle. Then they bashed Dutch NATO soldiers on the Bergen-Hohne training grounds, making off with four submachineguns and six magazines.

In court, however, they sat properly, their short hair parted, like Hitler Youths. "No familiar form of address or cussing here," DEUTSCHE ZEITUNG reported, "and no one empties his bowels on trial documents."

The presiding judge, Helmut Moschuering, formerly a high official in the Lower Saxon Ministry of Justice, jovially had them play their soldier's parts, allowing Kuehnen to extol his fidelity to National Socialism "in this trial and on other occasions" and to explain the plunder and murder plans of his squad as "beer table discussions."

For a long time the court also looked on benignly as black-garbed onlookers, Nazis with odals'-rune insignia and high boots jumped up as soon as Kuehnen entered the courtroom and gave him the Hitler salute or as there was laughter during the reading of quotations from the Auschwitz song found in Kuehnen's possession: "The scalp of a Jew, what a lampshade for you! Tralala."

Yet, unequivocal though the case appeared to be, the Karlsruhe prosecutors ran out of evidence. Schulte and Wegener, who had given the police a full confession, laying the foundation for the indictment, retracted their statements. Schulte said they were "null and void" because they were given in a "state of physical and mental breakdown caused by severe solitary confinement."

The truth about the retraction, however, could be found in a letter Schulte managed to smuggle out of his prison which read: "I retracted my statements for procedural reasons."

This retraction of his retraction, according to Schulte ("Damn it, I didn't write that"), was the work of a "good handwriting expert or a good forger." Then, when a fellow prisoner was able to show that Schulte had written it, the noncommissioned officer was finished as far as his codefendants were concerned.

For in a "private contract" Schulte had agreed with his cellmates on how he could sell his whole "life's story, particularly of the time when he belonged to extreme rightist movements" in the most favorable way. In that document, Schulte ceded to Rolf Richard Rauch, arrested on suspicion of arson, "all rights of publication" also concerning "contacts with other underground movements, participation in criminal actions to achieve terrorist objectives, and the period of his detention."

In turn Rauch pledged to invest 50 percent "of attained profits in behalf of Schulte or his legal heirs in savings accounts or mortgage bonds," including, according to the contract, "any production of movies or the writing of novels on the basis of the documents to be produced by Schulte or of the trial proceedings."

So far the profits have been limited. The two received DM 800 from a Hamburg magazine reporter to whom they sold the controversial Schulte letter and other papers--and that amount it had to share with a Hannover lawyer who arranged the deal and who now faces proceedings by his peers.

The other brown heroes too took up initial positions. Thus Kuehnen, the presumed head of the whole thing, maintained that he did not advocate violence but wanted to help National Socialism to triumph peacefully by way of "political propaganda."

To prove this, Kuehnen's attorney had the head of the NSDAP-AO, U.S. citizen Gary Lauck fly in from Lincoln, Nebraska--in vain, because, if anything, extracts from the bimonthly NAZI CLARION, published by Lauck as the "responsible editor" proved the opposite.

In it, the former Bavarian Minister-President Wilhelm Hoegner (SPD) was threatened ("We will beat you and your brood to a pulp") and it was prophesied to the Jews that "one fine day" they would again be put in concentration camps, from which they could no longer be released, "if only for biological reasons."

The Nazi organ extolled the assassination of Prosecutor General Siegfried Buback ("The aim justifies the means"), and it was announced that the plan was now to match the "Baader-Meinhof people." "For decades we have been enslaved and fettered. We have had to look on as comrades were murdered, persecuted and kidnaped. We were unable to do anything about the systematic ruin of our people. Our will lacked a technological and organized outlet. These times are past."

Last Thursday [30 August] Chief Public Prosecutor Hansjuergen Karge demanded 12 years' imprisonment for Schulte and 6 years for Kuehnen--after the court had already stated that evidently it had not been "established that the association of the group extended to being prepared to kill people."

Said Federal Prosecutor Karge: "What we lack is a corpus delicti."

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CS0: 3103

## TERRORISTS' ABILITY TO FORGE PASSPORTS, DOCUMENTS DISCUSSED

Hamburg DER SPIEGEL in German 3 Sep 79 pp 84, 87, 89, 90, 92

/Article: "Dolde or Bo'de?--Forged Passports Provide Security for West German Terrorists, With Forgeries Having Intelligence Service Quality"

/Text/ When the West German anarchists went underground years ago, they still found it difficult to cope with craftsmanship. There was something not quite right about their forged passports, making it difficult to slip into a new identity.

Andreas Baader, for instance, at a traffic check alleged he was the author Peter Chotjewitz but then, on being questioned, was unable to give the names of his children. Baader's companion Manfred Grashof turned an "F" preceeding the figure on his ID into a "P" in such an awkward way as to draw the attention of anyone checking the document.

Today there is no such sloppiness any longer. Terrorists use the personal data of unsuspecting fellow citizens who perhaps have gone overseas and have sublet their apartment, complete with furniture, telephone and mailbox, to a "solid tenant" for their time abroad. These terrorists know their way around in their borrowed curriculum vitae, and, in accordance with the advice contained in Norbert Kroeher's "terrorist primer," can "recite...like Schiller's 'Raeuber' /Schiller's play 'The Marauders' read in German schools/" their "new personal data...date of birth, address, time and place of government service...in-laws and so on."

According to Baden-Wuerttemberg Police President Alfred Stuemper, the forged papers of terrorists today "match in quality the professional work of intelligence services." The expertly forged ID or passport hardly constitutes a risk for the bearer any longer. On the contrary, the green or gray paper with the other person's photo or the alias offers security.

The procurement and preparation of identity papers, from passport to driver's license, has developed into a farflung underground industry, and this is reflected almost every week in the reports of police headquarters. Until 9 June, when the presumed terrorist Rolf Heissler was arrested at Sachsenhausen,

identity documents were manufactured in the Frankfurt Westend. There, in a conspiratorial apartment (KW), police confiscated seals, blanks, eyelets for fastening photos and special typewriters--and discovered traces of presumed female companions of Heissler's.

In a Hamburg terrorist apartment which for some months in 1977-1978 had served as a logistical base, the police found masses of film negatives and offset folios with imprinted insignia. Cataloged by the wanted Friederike Krabbe, they had been kept meticulously in a stamp album. It was RAF /Red Army Faction/ forgery material of the kind familiar, in part, to BKA /Federal Criminal Police Bureau/ criminologists from discoveries of stocks in Berlin in 1972 and in Hamburg in 1974.

Particularly these finds of passports and materials in Hamburg and Frankfurt confirm the excellent quality of forgeries and also reveal the technique that has been used in the meantime: numbers, seals and visa stamps are copied from various other identity documents and combined in a new document.

Any number of papers, normally procured by a "supporter" (BKA jargon), serve as models. "He may swipe such a thing at a party," a BKA man speculates, "then briefly disappear with it and after a couple of hours put it back in the jacket of the unsuspecting person."

A former RAF assistant nicknamed "Conny" explained to the Stuttgart Land Criminal Police Office in detail how Baader-Meinhof (BM) people in the beginning of the 1970's for a long time used to get hold of the genuine documents of unsuspecting citizens in order to make so-called duplicate papers. The RAF people would "monitor the police radio" during traffic checks and "copy things down as a suspect was being checked by the fuzz." Then, "when it came over the radio from headquarters that the fellow was okay, we took over his personal data."

"Conny," who later contributed to the arrest of several top terrorists, in the firm of his boss always kept available special paper and stolen "stamps of district administrative offices on a little piece of offset plate." Here is what "Conny" says about the forging of driver's licenses:

"Down to the retouching of the negatives, the printing is really quite simple. You brush over the old entries and data, because of course they must not be on the master blank.... The retouched negative was then mounted on a folio, and to compare the distances, one then takes a genuine driver's license and places the folio on an offset plate. Expose, develop and let harden. Make a copy in the machine. If necessary, correct the distances once more, and then everything is hunky-dory. Perhaps 10 minutes are needed to print 500 licenses."

The material for forging becomes available in various ways. Thus the widow of a young Bavarian found among her mail of condolences a request to "please" sell passport, ID, driver's license and birth certificate of her late husband for DM 1,000 to an "association of people helping persons in flight"--in fact, as police found out, a ring supporting terrorists.

Recently, when a man from Karlsruhe received mail from Italy, he could hardly believe his eyes. In the envelope he found the identity documents he had lost during a vacation in Italy in 1972, but instead of his own photo, his ID proudly displayed a photograph of terrorist Rolf Pohle, who years before had been arrested in Greece and had later been extradited to the FRG.

About 1.2 million passports and identity documents are lost annually in the FRG, and there is nothing to purchasing such a lost document on the black market between underground and underworld for DM 1,000 to 2,500--or for a few grams of heroin. As was revealed by terrorist helper Volker Speitel at the time of the Schleyer kidnaping, in "40 to 50 depots near Stuttgart" alone, identity documents were still in storage which had been "swiped in discotheques."

And RAF people have long since been resorting to the international market, where BKA Chief Horst Herold assumes collusion between West German terrorists and Palestinians, Italian Red Brigade members and lately also Khomeyni Iranians.

The odyssey of Iranian passport No 1404817 is typical. In June 1976, when the shah was still in power, more than a dozen Iranian students from Italy, Austria and the FRG had attacked the Iranian Consulate General in Geneva housing the European headquarters of the Iranian intelligence service SAVAK. They got hold of some 3,000 documents, including some passports, and their attorney, Denis Payot, the later mediator in the Schleyer case, verbosely defended the action before the Swiss public.

A couple of years later, the presumed German terrorist Kristina Berster produced the identity document of one Shahrzad Nobari in trying to cross the border from Canada to the United States. Investigations showed that Kristina Berster, underground for years, had taken over the passport in France on 25 May from the presumed RAF courier Marion Folkerts, who at that time went by the cover name "tadpole." It was passport 1404817 from among the Geneva catch.

The four Palestinians who had hijacked the Lufthansa Boeing "Landshut" in October 1977 and taken it to Mogadishu also carried some of those Iranian ID's which had been spirited away in Geneva. Time and again the German police come across such logistical and operational cross-connections.

The Dutch woman Luduina Janssen, for a time under arrest by the Israelis, told about the apparent course of events. In 1976, she had entered South Yemen with a Dutch "Red Assistance" group to join a camp of the PFLP /Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine/. Her own papers sufficed for her to reach Aden.

In the camp false papers were ready for the seven from Amsterdam, for instance Uruguayan ones. In order that their stay in South Yemen might remain a secret to the greatest possible extent, the PFLP office in Aden put forged Pakistani stamp impressions in their passports, or they had to detour via Djibouti to get an additional visa stamp.

It was the same trick which benefited, for example, the Germans Rolf Heissler, Rolf Clemens Wagner and Brigitte Mohnhaupt from the RAF scene in the Middle East. And police agents think it is due to the quality of such fixed passports that several terrorists in the past few months have managed to "return to the FRG...without being recognized."

Evidently terrorists find it particularly easy to come up with blanks for documents--German and foreign ones. In many municipal offices, a BKA man says regretfully, "the stuff lies around unsecured as always," with the Federal Printing Office for a long time sending out blanks "to any address given without checking whether the requesting office actually exists."

The situation was similar in Switzerland, with a whole series of blue ID cards used by West German terrorists probably originating with the Swiss Headquarters for Printing Matter and Materials--though only the paper, what with the Red Brigades, according to the latest findings, having done forging in a workshop of theirs.

Angelika Speitel, alias Bettina Koch, and Michael Knoll, alias Martin Hecker, who shot and killed a policeman in a wooded area near Dortmund last September, carried such cards, with their photos. Another card, made out to one "Silke Frischmuth," recorded as having been lost and found in the Swiss Embassy in Paris in January, after long research by Interpol is regarded as belonging to the wanted Ingrid Barabass, believed to have assisted in the kidnaping of Vienna millionaire Palmer. The pertinent plate for this document of Barabass was found in a KW of the Red Brigades in Milan.

Terrorists stationed at the sunny beaches of Bulgaria used these Swiss forged papers, as did Elisabeth Dyck, later shot and killed in Nuernberg. By pure coincidence it turned out recently that the murderer of two customs officers in Kerkrade in the Netherlands also was carrying papers from the same source.

During the shoot-out in November 1978, a third customs officer was wounded. When he returned to duty after some months and was about to wrap up the bloody bullet-ridden uniform "as a keepsake" he found in one of the pockets of the uniform a piece of evidence that had escaped the attention of the Dutch agents--A Swiss ID of Milan manufacture made out to "Stenzel." When Dutch police looked at "Stenzel" photos they felt sure that terrorist Christian Klar had been the person involved in the Kerkrade fray.

Several months later, however, when Wiesbaden BKA experts examined the forged Italian and French ID's made out to "Theodoro Katte Klitsche" and "Jean Robert Michel Martius" which Rolf Heissler (shot in Frankfurt) had carried with him with two of his photos, the officers were struck by the great resemblance between one of those photos and the picture of "Stenzel" of Kerkrade. Did this mean that Heissler had been the one who had fired the shots in Kerkrade?

As this case shows anew, passport photos are virtually useless in identifying terrorists who constantly change their face—such as RAF member Siegfried Haag who used to be known as a "man with many faces." But they change not only the color of their hair or their hairdo. The "hairy mole on the left cheek" of Heissler, for instance, mentioned in a BKA flyer might meanwhile have been removed by a plastic surgeon, and his right eyelid ("apparently drooping slightly", according to the BKA) might have long since been lifted.

Therefore, what agents regard as more important than any photograph is identifying marks that have nothing to do with a person's physical appearance but are nevertheless personal characteristics—such as the fact that Heissler frequently clears his throat and has a strikingly bouncy walk. The way in which bowlegged Monika Helbing walks pigeon toed also is liable to draw the attention of skilled agents. "The face does not interest us at all," say BKA agents pursuing terrorists, who think that the photos on the constantly brought up to date wanted-posters have only a psychological significance in that they keep the population on the alert.

So the BKA has specialized in recording such individual characteristics. It also has stored about 100 aliases used by terrorists in the past few years. The list ranges from "Anders(s)on, Franz Hendrick" to "Zangerle, Bernadette." "Wolf" stands for Christian Klar, "Asa" for Rolf Clemens Wagner, "Heidi" for Monika Helbing and "Gitte" for Brigitte Mohnhaupt.

How well these BM successors have been cataloged was shown when Brigitte Mohnhaupt and three accomplices were discreetly released last year after several months' imprisonment in Yugoslavia. The Yugoslav authorities returned to a number of countries, including Peru and the Principality of Liechtenstein, the confiscated forged papers the Yugoslav quartet had used in its previous numerous jet flights around the globe.

Particularly Liechtenstein passports stolen, along with blankets and tape recorders, in April 1977 from a partly unlocked car in the principality, belonging to a couple by the name of Risch, a Mrs Sprenger and one Silvio Vogt, proved to be pregnant with clues.

For it was under the guise of "Mr Risch" from Vaduz that Rolf Clemens Wagner flew across continents intending to blackmail the son of kidnaped Hanns-Eberhard Schleyer for 15 million dollars in the final phase of the Schleyer kidnaping. Judging by the plethora of stamps in his passport anyway, Wagner would stay in Baghdad and then in Paris or in Warsaw—a man of the world. Accomplice Brigitte Mohnhaupt on 1 May last year flew as a Swede from Teheran to Prague, the next day as a Liechtensteiner from Prague to Peru, and then as a Peruvian from Lima to Madrid.

In examining the papers, the handwriting and stamp experts of the BKA laboratories made an amazing discovery: occasionally the visa stamps on the back pages of the forged papers were also forged—"a completely new trick of the terrorists," according to a BKA man, "consciously to create false tracks and to construct false alibis."

Sometimes, however, agents found themselves on the false track even as a result of minor passport manipulations. During the intensified manhunt after the Schleyer murder, there appeared an "8" which had been changed into a "3" and a last name of "Dolde" which really should have read "Bolde"--for a long time overtaxing Herold's "Pios" /BKA computer/ in the surveillance pursuit (BEFA). This had its special reasons.

In 1976 the presumed later Buback assassins Guenter Sonnenberg and Knut Folkerts had raided the District Commissioner's Office in the Austrian Province of Tirol, seizing almost 400 passport blanks (Nos 305 9207 to 305 9600). Made out to "Herbert Wendl" "Kurt Steiner" or "Anton Huber," the Tirolean papers then bore the photos of Willy Peter Stoll, Christoph Wackernagel or Heissler and later emerged mostly in the luggage or KW's of the Schleyer kidnapers. Some 380 of them are still in circulation.

A typical feature of these Landeck papers is this: The serial number of the "Herbert Wendl" passport has been changed from 305 9550 to 305 0550, a "Monika Moerchen" became "Monika Hochen" (the alias of Monika Helbing), a "Gerda Pannhausen" became "Gerda Rannhaueser" (Silke Maier-Witt).

"In not quite 10 years," says Wiesbaden government security man, the terrorist scene in the ID-forging sector too has refined its methods "in a well-nigh sensational manner." Only "through enormous effort" had a BKA expert managed recently to induce the BAK computer to engage in "associative thinking." For instance, when asked, "Pios" now is supposed to print out any variants sounding similar to the names of Bolde or Moerchen.

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CSO: 3103

## RESEARCH MINISTER HAUFF INTERVIEWED ON ENERGY

Hamburg DER SPIEGEL in German 21 Jun 79 pp 21-24

[Interview with Research Minister Volker Hauff in Bonn by SPIEGEL editors Klaus Wirtgen and Rolf S. Mueller: "'There'll Be No More Tactical Shifts' / Research Minister Volker Hauff on Bonn's Energy Policy" date not given]

[Text] [Question] Herr Hauff, in connection with the decision on the prospective nuclear waste disposal center in Gorleben we witnessed what appeared to be a coalition of all the parties or, better yet, a coalition of the entire government. Isn't the combined determination of the social-liberal federal administration and the Christian-Democratic government in Hanover sufficient to overcome popular resistance to large-scale nuclear facilities?

[Answer] What we witnessed that week quite obviously was not a coalition of the entire government; rather, a series of questions remained open concerning that which is necessary and possible in Gorleben. But, what is incontestably true is that a broad popular consensus, along with a consensus of democratically responsible politicians, is necessary in order to provide our energy policy with the needed continuity.

In the field of nuclear energy, as in almost all other energy areas, we have the situation that 20 to 30 years elapse between the initial groundbreaking work, entry into the market and commercial use. This was true for petroleum; it's true for renewable energy sources such as solar energy, where we surely can only attain notable successes in 20 or 30 years; it's true for coal gasification and coal hydrogenation. Whoever doesn't have the courage to look beyond a legislative period should keep his hands off energy policy; no good would come of it anyway.

[Question] So, working together is indeed the only feasible way?

[Answer] Effort should be directed at reaching a maximum common ground between the administration and the opposition, between the federal government and the state governments. Neither the fast breeder reactor nor the integrated waste disposal facility at Gorleben can be realized if it comes to a confrontation between a particular state government and the federal government.

[Question] A few years ago the federal government pushed through the revaluation of the mark against opposition from all quarters. Why is this administration, whose chancellor is convinced of the need to further extend nuclear energy, incapable of mustering the strength to impose its energy policy?

[Answer] Those are strong words. In the first place, it must simply be recognized that the question of which form of energy will be applied where and to what extent is outside the direct scope of influence of the federal government. This is exclusively the affair of the states....

[Question] That is a formal argument....

[Answer] In the second place, it must be recognized that in order to build centralized facilities such as a waste disposal center, locations are needed which can only be found through cooperation. In his government address Herr Albrecht pointed out the political problems which he feels are connected with Gorleben as a location. One can't simply say, "I don't care about that." Besides, I also feel it is wrong to compare a problem like revaluation with nuclear energy.

[Question] According to the chancellor's argument, reasonable foreign exchange relations as well as an assured supply of energy are preconditions for economic growth.

[Answer] Such arguments are certainly being employed, but they extend far beyond this. Nuclear power is inseparably linked in people's minds with Hiroshima and Nagasaki; revaluation is not. I must ask you to appreciate that fact.

[Question] Yet, any politician who comes out strongly for nuclear energy must be aware of these primal fears.

[Answer] Yes, without any doubt. Therefore one should not get involved in the game of megawatt numbers and energy gaps where nuclear energy is concerned. We can't use strong-arm tactics. Nuclear energy is without a doubt connected with a residual risk. And nobody can seriously claim that a malfunction such as the one which occurred in Harrisburg could not in principle have happened in the Federal Republic. As long as I know that nuclear energy triggers primal fears, as long as I, as a politician, ask what degree of responsibility we are prepared to assume, also in relation to my children, then I must also consider the relationship of this risk to other risks.

[Question] For example, to coal.

[Answer] With coal I consider the long-term danger which can arise as the result of increased emissions of carbon dioxide to be so great that it is comparable to gigantic natural disasters or to war.

[Question] But natural disasters could arise in 50 to 100 years only if coal alone were to be massively relied upon. But now it's a matter of closing the gap in the next few years.

[Answer] We have already witnessed in the Sahel zone the effects that climatic changes can produce; the desert expanded and tens of thousands perished. Serious scientists claim that such dangers from carbon dioxide could be facing us in the next 30 years. This can't be pushed aside with the left hand and ignored just because people are as yet unaware of it.

[Question] Nevertheless, the risk of nuclear energy remains greater.

[Answer] Dangers connected with nuclear energy are imperceptible; they cannot be felt, smelled, touched, and their consequences often appear only after many years.

[Question] They are not experienced as close to home as are the dangers of coal mining, for example. Lung cancer deaths in uranium mining don't show up in statistics.

[Answer] If, over the life span of a coal-burning power plant, 70 people perish solely in the excavation of the coal under the conditions prevailing there, and if one now says that safety must precede economic interests, and this must apply to coal as well, then 70 deaths are unacceptable if one takes this as an absolute measure.

Take oil: We must assume that the struggle for scarce oil deposits will become the most important source of international crises in the 1980's, with the danger that wars will result in which atomic weapons will be deployed. Whoever takes the position that military security must precede economic interests must also consider whether oil consumption is even a responsible policy.

[Question] What conclusions do you draw from this?

[Answer] Since these risks do not differ in principle, I consider that the right course is to aim at the greatest possible diversification of risks. This does not mean looking at a specific form of energy from the point of view of its potential dangers; it means looking at the whole picture and asking what is the best way to mix these risks.

[Question] But for the future, less risky alternatives do present themselves, such as so-called geothermal power plants or marine power plants like those developed by Lockheed in the United States.

[Answer] Those are futuristic developments. In my opinion there has been a fateful tendency in human history to characterize those technical developments which lie furthest in the future as being especially sound environmentally, especially humane, especially cheap, especially pleasant.

[Question] Does that mean that you set great store only in nuclear energy?

[Answer] I've supported all energy technologies. In the last few years there wasn't a non-nuclear research project on energy which we didn't promote if it looked even half-way promising: whether it was geothermal energy, solar energy, or wind energy--or whether it was the international alliance for the utilization of tidal power, wave power or biogas development. We currently spend five times as much on non-nuclear energy sources as we do on nuclear energy. But--just as in nuclear technology, a time span of 10 or 20 years is needed to put across new concepts.

[Question] Wouldn't it be simpler to do without nuclear power, using all the alternatives and concentrating on energy conservation?

[Answer] I'm still convinced that we cannot do without nuclear energy, whether in the form of the integrated waste disposal center or in terms of the option of the fast breeder reactor. But, I have also learned that we have still done far too little in the area of energy conservation. We must arrive at an energy policy which, through conservation, places at least as much of a burden upon the individual as nuclear energy does.

[Question] You have indicated that these goals cannot be reached through appeals alone.

[Answer] I remain steadfast on that point.

[Question] Until now, the government has confined itself to psychological massage.

[Answer] You will excuse me, but we have resolved among other things to continue to publicly promote long-distance heating systems. And I consider that this resolution is not the end of the matter.

[Question] What else can you think of--besides raising the price of gasoline and heating oil? The leader of the SPD in the Rhineland-Palatinate, Klaus von Dohnanyi, has come out in favor of prohibitions and regulations.

[Answer] I'm not ruling out such a course of action from the start. Prices play an important role, but I don't believe that we can rely on price alone. For example, we've tightened regulations on the insulation of buildings to a degree exceeded only by Sweden. But, I'll be really interested to see whether all those who so loudly espouse energy conservation will still actually follow me once we begin to, for example, prohibit the installation of oil heaters in private households in new construction, which leaves only solar energy installations, heat pumps, or long-distance heating mains.

What will actually happen when, in terms of gas consumption, we tell those people who enjoy driving fast cars that in future a car will not be allowed to consume more than 4 or 5 liters?

[Question] When will citizens have to accept the fact that only those cars may still be sold which have a certain maximum consumption?

[Answer] On the basis of research and development work which we are financing, we have produced evidence that significant improvements are possible in this area--the same performance using less fuel. This has led the auto industry to announce that it will reach a certain economy percentage on its cars by 1985. We will try to induce individual firms to produce economy models. But if this self-imposed goal of the industry doesn't yield the desired result by 1985, we shall have to resort to additional measures.

[Question] Which ones?

[Answer] In the first place, it's the industry's turn to move. It should take as a reasonable standard the American regulation which limits the average consumption of all models offered by a factory to about 8 liters, from 1985 onwards.

[Question] By law?

[Answer] If necessary, yes.

[Question] Do you consider the speed limit an appropriate measure and will you come out strongly in favor of it?

[Answer] A limit of 130 kilometers per hour does almost nothing. But if one stays significantly below that, a speed limit of 100 kilometers per hour would provide a worthwhile economizing potential. Such a law should not be passed in isolation, if at all. It would have to be embedded in a comprehensive economy package consisting of several measures.

[Question] With these proposals don't you have to be prepared for failure due to the resistance of the citizenry, including the Social Democrats?

[Answer] A great deal of resistance will be created. But, as acting president of the SPD Energy Commission, I will present before this year is up a general catalogue in which all possibilities for economizing will be enumerated and evaluated. We Social Democrats must recognize our capabilities, no matter whether we hold responsible positions as local politicians, state politicians, as federal politicians or on the supervisory boards of energy-supplying enterprises.

We must mold this debate into a draft plan for the SPD. Until now, the political forces involved have not yet sufficiently recognized that, speaking in terms of energy policy, the patient needs an operation. At present we are still largely in the process of trying to do it with band-aids and safety pins.

[Question] Doesn't the credibility of the debate over non-nuclear forms of energy and economy measures suffer from the chancellor's continual emphasis on his espousal of nuclear energy?

[Answer] I think it's a terrible oversimplification and I'm against reducing the entire discussion to the question: Are you for or against nuclear energy?

[Question] Isn't that the fault of the chancellor, who continues to declare that nuclear energy is indispensable?

[Answer] At the present moment I see a tendency in the public debate to not even reconcile different positions anymore, but only to ask, are you an advocate or an opponent, which leads to a discussion that consists only of demonstrating attitudes and not in exchanging reasonable arguments.

[Question] Then, as far as you are concerned, is Helmut Schmidt's remark that nuclear energy is indispensable an argument or a demonstration of attitude?

[Answer] That is the result of arguments which must then be pursued individually. Therefore, the public debate is better served by not conducting the discussion with the chancellor by means of such rhetorical flourishes as labeling him "atomic chancellor"--but rather by actually confronting the position in substantive terms.

[Question] In an interview with SPIEGEL immediately after the Harrisburg incident, your colleague in the FDP, Minister of the Interior Baum, demanded that we consider whether we might not be able to get along without nuclear energy. You, on the other hand, complained later on about people who "shot from the hip immediately after Harrisburg." Were you referring to Baum?

[Answer] The whole discussion was too frenzied for my taste, and I certainly don't want to personalize it. I noticed a lack of readiness to say: all right, let's think very intensively for 3, 4, 5 weeks, take note of the facts and ask about the consequences.

[Question] It is already becoming clear at many regional party conferences of the SPD that many of your comrades no longer even discuss whether and to what extent nuclear energy should be further developed; rather, they are at most concerned with the question of whether those reactors which are still in operation should not immediately be shut down. How is the chancellor going to find a majority for his policy?

[Answer] Well, we do not simply have to endure that debate in a sniveling manner. We must try to confront and reason with the individuals involved. We must prove that we are prepared, not only programmatically but also in terms of practical politics, and not only for nuclear energy but also for

the rational and economical use of energy, to reach some very unpopular decisions. It won't be easy to get a majority for this in Berlin.

[Question] What will you do if the Berlin party convention refuses you the option of further developing nuclear energy?

[Answer] That is a hypothetical question. I'm concentrating on boosting my position.

[Question] The chairman of the Young Socialists, Gerhard Schroeder, recently demanded that the party convention "resolve to eliminate the option of the fast breeder reactor as well as any form of conventional and usable reprocessing," and furthermore to halt construction of additional nuclear power plants. What will you do if this position becomes capable of gaining a majority?

[Answer] I hope it won't become capable of gaining a majority. And I'm applying my efforts so as to prevent such a situation from arising.

[Question] Some Social Democrats, such as Hesse's Minister-President Holger Boerner, have said that they do not feel themselves unconditionally bound by party convention resolutions on all issues. Could you as minister live with the party convention's "No" on nuclear energy?

[Answer] As far as I am concerned, that is also a totally hypothetical question. But: I don't believe that one can work politically while dissenting from one's own party on important political issues.

[Question] Do you still envision the possibility that the party majority will follow Chancellor Schmidt's course?

[Answer] I believe that the willingness to move in that direction is greater, even among skeptics, than some people think.

And the most important thing right now is the task which we in the party's energy commission must accomplish. Then the extent of our capacity for integration will very quickly become apparent. By capacity for integration I don't mean personalities; I mean a substantive confrontation between positions, including the willingness to alter one's own position.

[Question] At the party convention in Hamburg the advocates of nuclear power did have the support of the trade unions. But, since Harrisburg this alliance has been crumbling. The chairman of the TV [Public Service, Transportation and Communications Union], Heinz Kluncker, who had been an unequivocal advocate of nuclear energy all along, has revised his position. Eugen Loderer of IG Metall [Metalworkers Union] has made some critical comments about reprocessing. And now the chairman of the DGB [German Trade Union Federation], Heinz Oskar Vetter: "Once confidence is lost, the DGB will also find it very difficult to continue to say yes to nuclear energy."

[Answer] That is not only true for the DGB--it also applies to the SPD and to the federal government. My greatest concern is that we Social Democrats will lose the capacity to govern over our handling of nuclear energy. For me that is the greatest political challenge as I look to the future.

[Question] Then the future means not only the party convention, but the elections as well?

[Answer] I am quite certain that the basic concept of energy policy will play a very important role in the next Bundestag elections. If we do not succeed in handling this topic in its complexity, then we will lose our credibility with those who view nuclear energy with concern and who are very skeptical or negative. There will then be a great retreat in those quarters. And if, on the other hand, we opportunistically adapt ourselves to moods which are doubtless present, we will lose some of those who are up and coming, but we will also lose sections of organized labor. And on this point there can be no more tactical shifts. It's of no value to say, I'll agree with this one and also agree with the other one. The only thing which will help further progress is the readiness to take up a position which is sensitive enough to deal with the issues in a responsible manner. This naturally involves risks for the individual and--what concerns me much more--great risks also for the party as a whole.

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## SOCIALISTS, NOT USSR, KEPT CONSERVATIVES OUT OF CABINET

Cologne RHEINISCHER MERKUR in German 7 Sep 79 p 3

[Article by Hannes Gamillscheg; "Finland on the Tightrope"]

[Text] Moscow is supplying the Finns with up-to-date air defense missiles. At the same time the Kremlin is trying to place new political fetters on its enighbor. Helsinki has only limited ways of guarding against this.

The purchase of Soviet air defense missiles by the Finnish Armed Forces has again drawn attention to the relationship between Finland and its big neighbor in the east. Only a short time earlier, powerful President Urho Kekkonen had directed his wrath at the veteran Center Party politician Johannes Virolainen for daring to indicate that consideration for the Soviet Union could also be detected in Finnish domestic politics. Now that both in the Kremlin and in Helsinki men at the end of their political lives are in power, is Finland again veering toward a particularly pro-Soviet line?

To answer this question with yes would be going too far. True, Kekkonen is trying to turn over a neat house to his successor (which, in Helsinki, means a smooth relationship with Moscow), but at the same time there can be no doubt but that Finnish politics have managed to obtain more elbowroom in the past few years. Events in Helsinki are not determined in Moscow, though consultations between the two neighbors in northern Europe are more ferquent than is normal between a communist country and its free neighbor.

A factor playing a part in this is the fact that the generation in Finland which has not gone through any war has much easier relations with the eastern neighbor. Any Finn knows the geography of his homeland and the consequences deriving from it. But young Finns think that there are other problems in their country than coping with the past. And since the younger generation is becoming ever more numerous, it is also being listened to more and more in its country's politics.

At the same time Kekkonen has managed to strengthen the image of Finland as a neutral country. When he got the CSCE conference and part of the SALT talks to take place in Helsinki, he did so in order to lend his city an aura such as is enjoyed by Vienna or Geneva, of being a place for international negotiations on neutral soil--in other words, removed from the image of a Soviet satellite. Kekkonen's successful campaign in the FRG against the term "Finlandization" aimed in the same direction.

Here the "Virolainen affair," which caused an uproar in Helsinki, is of interest. On the occasion of the formation of a Finnish government, Virolainen had pointed out that, election successes notwithstanding, it never was the turn of the conservatives because "other deliberations" were in the way. Though not spelled out, everyone knew that what he meant was that the USSR did not desire the conservatives to take part in the government. And so Virolainen touched the very point which Kekkonen, not least since his visit to Bonn, had thought he had overcome. Hence the sharp reaction by the president, who reproached him--the speaker of Parliament--for having inflicted untold harm on his country. The president overreacted, but one could see why: the tearing open of wounds that have just healed happens to be particularly painful.

At that, any expert on Finland knows that this time Virolainen was wrong. The old story according to which the Soviets will torpedo any participation by the conservatives in the government is no longer true. It used to be so, but this time the conservatives failed not because of Moscow but because the Social Democrats did not want to form a government without the Communists in order not to run the risk of losing workers' votes to the left. And since a majority was not possible without the Social Democrats, the conservative election victors had to be left out.

There remains the arms purchase. This is nothing new. The Finnish Armed Forces have long since been equipped in part with Soviet weapons. This has not only military but commercial reasons. Finland time and again has trouble achieving the even balance of trade that Moscow demands. The problem is that the USSR simply is not in a position to supply the highly sophisticated products in demand in a Western country. The present Finnish prime minister, Mauno Kolvisto, described this situation quite drastically some years ago, when he said: "Our trade with the Soviet Union is like the trade of a capitalist country with developing countries. We purchase raw materials as cheaply as possible and in turn sell highly sophisticated goods on the interesting Soviet market."

To offset the trade imbalance with its biggest trade partner, Finland buys the kind of products which the USSR can still supply--energy, in the form of oil and whole nuclear power plants--and arms.

What is unusual in the arms trade, however, is the external circumstances. For example, Parliament authorizes 300 million markkas without having been informed about the number and price of the missiles, or the fighter planes that have been ordered as well. In any other country, this certainly would have caused an outcry by the opposition. There is no gainsaying the fact that the

Soviet Union is interested in arming Finland. In fact, for that purpose Moscow deleted from the Finnish-Soviet Peace Treaty the original nuclear nonproliferation clause.

Neutral Finland forms a wedge between the Soviet Union and the northern flank of NATO. A confrontation between the two military blocs in northern Europe would take place on Finnish soil. This is a fact caused by the geographical situation. It constitutes the background of Kekkonen's efforts to banish cold war from Scandinavia. Hence his favorite idea of declaring the north a nuclear-free zone--an idea which time and again makes Finland the subject of discussion but which is just as regularly rejected by the neighboring Scandinavian countries, particularly the NATO countries of Norway and Denmark.

The argument of the Danes and Norwegians is that no nuclear weapons are stationed in their countries in peacetime anyway and that it is inappropriate to agree contractually on something which one does not want to change as it is. The only nuclear weapons in the north of Europe are the Soviet ones on the Kola peninsula. But these are not affected by Kekkonen's plan, because--according to the Soviet version adopted by the Finnish president--they are not directed against the Scandinavian countries but are part of Soviet global defense. This is an argument Finland's western neighbors do not consider sufficient for a serious discussion to take place about a "nuclear-free north."

It is not only its geographical situation that warns Finland to be cautious but also the "Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Assistance" it concluded with the USSR, which forms the basis Finnish-Soviet relations. According to it, Helsinki is obliged to ward off any attack across Finnish territory against the Soviet Union, enlisting Soviet assistance in doing so, if need be. Therefore Finland wants to keep anything that might trigger a crisis far away from its borders. No Finn would like to see "helping" Russian soldiers march into his country. And so Finland also politely declined a Moscow offer made by Soviet Defense Minister Ustinov a year ago to hold joint maneuvers.

8790

CSO: 3103

## PARTICIPATION IN EUROPE'S DEFENSE CALLED 'ESSENTIAL'

Paris LE MONDE in French 29 Aug 79 p 6

[Article in series entitled: "The Debate on the Issue of Franco-German Military Integration"]

[Text] On the opening day of the 32nd congress of the Interallied Confederation of Reserve Officers (CIOR), meeting in Avignon, Minister of Defense Yvon Bourges pointed out that "one of the principal concerns of the government...was to ensure that our armed forces are--both in fact and in appearance--a factor for equilibrium."

The speech by the French minister of defense had been awaited with particular interest because of the extent to which it would reflect the debate over the issue of Franco-German military integration.

"The destiny of France," Bourges said, "cannot be separated from that of the continent. It is clear that France's sovereignty would be--at the very least--seriously compromised if its neighbors were to lose their freedom in one respect or another. Who can in all sincerity argue that a conflict taking place in Europe would stop at our borders? This is why," the minister of defense emphasized, "one of the basic missions of the French armed forces that are directly involved in the security of the national territory is to participate in the defense of Europe. I would also point out," Bourges said--"even though geography and history make it perfectly self-evident--that French diplomacy does not limit Europe to the western and central portions of that continent but also includes the entire Mediterranean region."

## Role of the Reservists

Turning to the subject of French strategic nuclear armament--which is unable to respond to all forms of aggression--Bourges said: "We shall evaluate the danger of allowing ourselves to be locked into the "all or nothing" concept. The security of French territory, and the security of western Europe (whose defense could require our participation), therefore presuppose the possession of traditional land, naval and air combat forces."

The minister of defense told the approximately 1,500 reservists (who had come from Germany, Belgium, Canada, Denmark, the United States, Great Britain, Greece, the Netherlands, Italy and Norway to participate in this 32nd congress of the CIOR) that these forces would not attain their full effectiveness in case of crisis "unless the reservists were mobilized to round out their ranks." Bourges declared that without the active participation of "the reserves, no national defense is possible for a country such as ours." In this connection, the effectives that could be available solely from among the young men who are discharging their national service obligation as cadets or as ensigns 2d class would total 4,000 cadets for the Army (plus 1,000 reserve officers on active duty); 1,000 ensigns 2d class for the Navy; and 1,000 cadets for the Air Force. To this total should be added the annual graduating class of the trainees for the medical corps reserves of the three branches.

10992

CSO: 3100

## EUROPEAN DEFENSE SEEN 'PROBLEM ALWAYS AVOIDED'

Paris LE MONDE in French 30 Aug 79 p 7

[Article in series entitled: "The Debate on the Issue of Franco-German Military Integration"]

[Text] Despite the clarification issued on Tuesday 28 August by the office of the president, the debate concerning the possible military integration of the Franco-German armed forces continues to elicit numerous reactions in political circles. In an effort to forestall these commentaries Minister of Defense Yvon Bourges also published a clarification through the instrumentality of the Armed Forces Information and Public Relations Service (SIRPA). In its statement SIRPA declared that Bourges has "nothing to add to, or subtract from, the explanation" that he had made in Avignon.

General Buis and Alexandre Sanguinetti, who last week initiated the debate, also issued clarifications. General Buis in fact said there is nothing in his statements to indicate that he is no longer in favor of a national defense based on the nuclear deterrent. "I have always been in favor of it and still am," he said. "I am more than ever at ease in proposing to the 'unconditional' advocates of a 'Europe' (what Europe?)--who incidentally have no intention of ever making a serious defense of their mythical concept--a working hypothesis that is dangerous, to be sure, but is realistic."

For his part, Alexandre Sanguinetti declares that "the problem of the defense of Europe will always be avoided, because neither the French nor the Germans want that kind of Europe.... The French are disturbed at the thought that the Germans would be able to share in nuclear armament, while the Germans virtuously reject such armament because they are much more concerned with their own reunification than with Europe.... An independent Europe means an independent defense and...in view of the new factors introduced by SALT II, which represent the end of deterrence and the beginning of coercion, merely said that as of that moment it became clearly necessary to reach an understanding with the Germans."

Commenting on the reaction of the German press to the effect that his statements had been a trial balloon sent up by the French Government, Sanguinetti stated: "The Germans are unaware of my relationship with the government

over the past 5 years, and this fact demonstrates their profound ignorance of French affairs in general." This point of view is not completely shared by Charles Hernu, a member of the executive committee of the Socialist Party, who pointed out that the socialists "remain committed to what they stated during their national conference on defense, namely, there is no such thing as a deterrent force that is not the deterrent force of the national sanctuary."

Most recently, at a press conference held Tuesday 28 August, Michel Debre declared that "integration means the end of French defense and the end of deterrence.... Any policy of deterrence," he said, "is either a national policy or it is nothing at all. The best proof of this is the fact that the Americans and the Russians have signed a document by the terms of which their strategic nuclear forces will not be used in the event of a conflict unless their own territory is directly threatened...." In conclusion, Debre cited the European integration in defense matters and pointed out that "the concept of the state of affairs that has resulted from World War II cannot be altered without the unanimous agreement of the countries of the East and the countries of the West."

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CSC: 3100

## PERSPECTIVE OF 'NEW RIGHT,' SEPARATE EUROPEAN IDENTITY

Scientific, Sociological, Economic Premises

Paris LE MONDE in French 25 Jul 79 pp 1, 6

[Article by Maurice Duverger: "The Illusion of Science"]

[Text] Two essential elements have been forgotten in the debate on "the new right." To begin with, the mores of this literary republic have resulted in granting a privileged position to the ideologues while neglecting the technicians. Actually, there are two new rights. For the time being, the new economists are more important than the new theoreticians of hereditary intelligence and of a return to the Aryan hierarchy. Rallied around Jean-Jacques Rosa, Florin Altalion, Pascal Salin, and Emile Claessen, an entire team of professors of the Paris Institute for Political Studies, the Superior School of Economic and Social Sciences, and the universities of Dauphine, Aix-En-Provence, and Orleans have introduced in France the Chicago ideas, after adapting them more or less. They are rallied within an "Association for Institutional Economy," which organizes colloquiums, publishes works, and, every year, brings to life a summer university in King Rene's city.

As disciples of Milton Friedmann, they share his fiscal views formulated twenty years ago. However, their thinking goes way beyond that central point. They tend toward what could be described as a "pan-economism." One of them, Henri Lepage, acknowledges that the new economics is "incontestably imperialist." He defines it as "a scientific tool with a far more universal use....which makes it possible not only to explore phenomena related to money and production, but overall human behavior in society, whether individual or collective, whether mercantile or nonmercantile, on the basis of a simple and imperialistically verifiable hypothesis of individual behavior, the behavior of homo economicus."

Nothing comes free. Any behavior, any decision, any activity necessarily has its "cost of opportunity," defined by the amount of satisfaction which another behavior, another decision, or another activity would yield within the same period of time. Thus it becomes possible to analyze relations among political

parties on the "electoral market," the division of labor between man and woman in a household and, why not, the choice between marital fidelity and stepping out, between the sea and the mountain, or between participation in a religious ritual and a trip to a museum: naturally, the problem would be to evaluate these various types of satisfaction. The new economists direct their method above all toward the assessment of the interference of the state of which they are most suspicious.

These theories have a greater influence on the powers that be than the new ideology of the GRECE [European Civilization Study and Research Group] and of its spokesmen: In the mid-1970's the governmental majority made a radical turn. It converted to neoliberalism, abandoning the Keynesian model which dominated economic views from the time of Paul Reynaud to Georges Pompidou.

After 1945 Keynes had molded several generations of high bureaucrats and provided an ideological base for the centrist majorities of the Fifth Republic, and allowed the Gaullists to pursue the Colbert-type policy they desired. The return to homo economicus corresponds to the basic orientation of Giscardianism.

However great the distance between them may be, the new economists and the new ideologues are linked by a common element which they share with Marxism: the illusion of science. The former proclaim themselves supporters of a "scientific liberalism." The second rely on "the revolutionary message of 300 among the greatest British and American scientists: the sociobiologists." The third claim to represent a "scientific socialism." In fact, all of them are delving in areas where science is still underdeveloped, or where it is certain of very few things, and where its hypotheses and models are more approximate and fragile than elsewhere. When Engels claimed that "socialism has become a science which must now be developed in all its details" he was sharing the hopes of a positivistic age. The friends of Jean-Jacques Rosa and of Alain de Benoist do not have this excuse.

The former cannot forget that the best economists have never contested the infirmity of their subject. The most advanced among the social sciences, excluding demography, is far behind the natural sciences. Singling out all its contradictions as we study the great depression of the 1930's promotes our skepticism concerning its ability to resolve the current crisis. The progress achieved in the past half-century has been considerable. It does not allow us as yet to lay claim to a proper mastery of mechanisms governing production, trade, and distribution. Pan-economism does not make this discipline more specific by broadening its subject. The neoliberals are no more and no less confident of their science than the Keynesians. Nor have they achieved better results.

The claim of the current new right is even less justifiable. Its leader expresses great admiration for Popper who denies to social and human disciplines the features of a true science, since their claims are considered "falsifiable," i.e., susceptible of being refuted through practical experience. This

implacable logician believes that they can merely bring forth "selective viewpoints." He reduces them to the state of "apportionistic sociotechniques" which allow no more than fussing with details.

In order to avoid such criticism, the new ideologues have shifted the matter to the physical sciences or, more precisely, to the area of a strange coupling between them and the humanities. Politics should thus be based on "sociobiology, the science of the optimality of reproductive success and of family relationships serving the evolution" based on the theory that all living beings tend to "optimize" their gains, the most precious among them being to succeed in passing on their genes, i.e., the particles which determine heredity. We thus return to the new economists and their cost of opportunity. Some Americans have not erred by justifying their "scientific" neoliberalism with sociobiology.

### Metaphoric Study Tools

To the extents to which conceptual systems enable us to explain the evolution of the species from the amoeba to Homo sapiens, they could be accepted, providing that they are taken for what they are: metaphorical study tools which help us to understand facts without describing them. To state that the organism does not live through its own efforts and that its prime function is not to create other organisms but to reproduce genes and be their temporary carrier means to go beyond the metaphor and suggest a finality which is located only in the mind of the one who cites it. To claim that a tendency toward altruism increases with an increased investment in the genes of the beneficiary--the father who sacrifices himself for the sake of his son rather than for the sake of a stranger--is simply the juggling of words.

Sociobiology becomes a fraud when it stops being a model for the study of the evolution of the species in order to justify the domination of genetic elites. This resurrects the adventure of Vacher de Lapouge who frantically exhumed skeletons and measured their craniums to legitimize the privileges of an aristocracy which, according to Gobineau, were the descendents of the Germanic conquerors, such dolichocephalic Aryans having brought civilization to the primitive brachycephalic native plunged in their barbaric life. Each age manufactures sociobiologists on a custom-made basis. Science could clarify political or economic choices but cannot take their place. There is no scientific liberalism, scientific socialism, or a scientific new right or new left. Liberalism, socialism, the right, and the left, are based, above all, on ethics. The purpose of the illusion of science is to ascribe to the doctrines which claim to be scientific an unmerited authority by adorning them with a fictitious objectivity which makes scientists smile.

## Economic Policy Considerations

Paris LE FIGARO in French 2 Aug 79 pp 1, 3

[Article by Annie Kriegel: "Science and Demarcation Conflict"]

[Text] The weather was quite stormy.<sup>1</sup> The storm burst after Thierry Pfister published in LE MONDE (22 June) the file which had been in circulation for a while dealing with the network of the "the new right." There was an avalanche of articles, studies, and investigations, dominated by the firm contribution by Raymond Aron (L'EXPRESS, 21 July). This was a downpour airing demarcation conflicts, identification clashes, auxiliary conflicts, annexation attempts, confusions and amalgamations, executions by virtual defamation, and clear injustices.

For example, an execution by virtual defamation was the one practiced by an anonymous orthophonist (LE MATIN, 27 July): objecting to the diagnosis of deep dyslexia, it ascribes to Professor Debray-Ritzen the strange motive of wanting to "hurl the children in the labyrinth of catch-up courses." There were auxiliary wars and injustices: their most notable victim was the seemingly most spoiled among our "new philosophers."

After the fact that for weeks on end crowns without thorns were woven in honor of his "God's Testament," all of a sudden a double vinegar-soaked sponge was squeezed on B.-H. Levy. Pretending to weaken the Judeo-Christian cement of our resistance to the barbarians, Levy decided to write no less than a "Genius of Judaism" which, in the course of his trip from Paris to Jerusalem, skips the Athenian stop. This proves a crazy spiritual and intellectual economy. Furthermore, this arrogant youth, even though an alumni of Ecole Normale, scorns the honest use of references unless he finds them suitable and is ordinarily satisfied with facts supporting his demonstration. This is quite annoying for a person who, like myself, has the taste for and the practice of exhaustive learning.

Yet, must one always read through the eyes of a president of a jury judging a doctoral thesis! Even though B.-H. L's essay may not be a treatise even though I would love it occasionally to praise treatise, particularly on subjects where it would be daring to adopt the easy style of the essay, as is the case with Emmanuel Levinas. Nevertheless, has Paris forgotten how to welcome without sourness the pleasant gaiety of an impromptu cavalcade?

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1. See my "Essay on a Nervous Summer," LE FIGARO, 10 June.

2. See J. E. Hallier, LE FIGARO Magazine, 21 April, and P. Vidal Naquet, LE NOUVEL OBSERVATEUR, 25 June.

3. See, in particular, E. Levinas, "Difficile liberte" [Difficult Freedom] A. Michel, 1976.

Less funny are the demarcation conflicts and sign quarrels. There are some who claim precedence as far as the coining of the term "new right" is concerned; or else they claim by virtue of their well established affiliation with a traditional right wing branch the right to precedence when it comes to the use of this theme.

There are those who reject being part of it; they either consider offensive the confusion between a Christian and nationalist party of the extreme right with the "new right" which is more pagan and European; or else they consider insulting the blending of a moderate, republican, and liberal group (or else moderately republican and liberal?), such as the Club de l'Horloge, and a more structured, more secret, and more suspect group such as the GRECE, based on the fact that both are interested in sociobiology.

There are those ask nothing of no one yet are thrown in the common bag, such as the unclassifiable CIEL of the dear Ionesco. The fact that Alain de Benoist had favorably commented the recent translation of the works of Popper,<sup>4</sup> and had quoted Wittgenstein, the opposition takes up the protection of these two arcane logicians so far ignored. Using or ignoring Marx, as suited them, they had met with an attentive public only in the Anglo-Saxon world which is somewhat hastily accused of lacking a philosophical tradition.

Therefore, has the time not come to recall that these two great minds were Viennese as were nearly all the creators of the modern times, whether good or bad, the subjects of good old Franz-Joseph, at the turn of the century? What the terse analysts find strange in the links between politics and science is that on the eve of its definitive fall a liberal and decadent empire could have been the matrix of the future, as Musil wrote.

These are analysts such as Maurice Duverger (LE MONDE, 25 July) who would like to caution us that the "new economists" would be potentially more dangerous than the "new right," because, strictly speaking, they would juggle with the "illusion of science." Such associations are unseasonable.

The "new economists" are economists of stature. They are professionals who have chosen to abandon the Keynesian paradigm considering it exhausted as would be, after a while, any paradigm in any field. Therefore, they base their research on a different general hypothesis, borrowed from Milton Friedmann and developed by the American school of the New Economy.

Is this a right wing hypothesis? It is, more or less, the way Keynes belongs to the left. Did Mrs Thatcher break with the Keynesian cycle? Heath had not, whereas in Bonn, Schmidt had done it long ago. It is a reductionist hypothesis in the sense that the "new economists" reduce human motivations to individual computations of interest, the term of the interest extending beyond financial satisfactions, covering all sorts of satisfactions.

Naturally, this would be reductionist the way any scientific step would become the moment it goes from specific infinity to abstract unity. The only

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4. Karl Popper, "La Société ouverte et ses ennemis" [The Open Society and Its Enemies], Le Seuil, 1979.

question is to know if, on the one hand, this reduction is operative and, on the other, whether it has been taken into consideration and corrected in the stage of the return to the specific, i.e., of the practical application. It is a fact that, in France, Raymond Boudon considers this hopeful, in his thought on the works of American sociologists who base themselves on the topics treated by the "new economists."

Even though, personally, I have greater reservations: in effect, such topics seem to me to be more suitable for clarifying the behavior of categories of individuals who are well integrated in the democratic and liberal society of the Anglo-Saxon type rather than for analyzing the behavior of individuals or groups who retain a deeply rooted feeling of belonging to a system of specific values and a kind of "grace of the state feeling."

In any case, unquestionably, we are dealing here with a science: a science which should beware of claiming any totality or immutability. Nevertheless, it is a science, i.e., a set of advancing knowledge gained with the help of a valid tool suitable at least for the times and specific problems. As to the ideological manipulations of knowledge, the statement by Georges Dumézil in this newspaper (LE FIGARO, 20 April) and Claude Lévi-Strauss in his speech on the occasion of Dumézil's nomination to the French Academy, are perfectly accurate.

#### GRECE: Ideological Precepts

Paris LE MONDE in French 24 Aug 79 p 3

[Article by Pierre Vial, university professor, GRECE secretary general: "The GRECE and the Revolution of the 21st Century"]

[Text] And so, for the past two months, the GRECE (European Civilization Study and Research Group) has been illuminated by the searchlight of present day journalism. Normally, we would have been quite pleased, since our objective, for the past 10 years, has been to trigger a stimulating discussion of ideas which would break intellectual conformism, whether to the right or the left. Yet, there has been no discussion of ideas. There have been only abuses, excommunications, or, worse, the systematic misrepresentation of the ideas supported by the GRECE. Thus, it becomes necessary to bring to mind certain basic truths addressed to those who would love to bracket ideological a priori and open a dialog with us.

1. The GRECE neither has nor wants to have a political target. It does not feel affected either closely or remotely by the actions, maneuverings, and

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5. Raymond Boudon, "La Logique due social" [The Logic of the Social] P.U.F., 1978.

intrigues of the world of the politician's politics, whose perspectives, whether among the majority or the opposition, are purely electoral. The GRECE is not concerned with politics. It intends to operate at a different, more basic level. Being a "Society for Thinking and Intellectual Vocation," as defined by its statutes, the GRECE intends to operate on the metapolitical field, to the extents to which collective mentalities and, therefore, popular consensus may be reached on such grounds.

Let us use a comparison which would enrage the dinosaurs of the old right: like the thinking society of the free masons which prepared the minds for the 1789 revolution, the thinking society represented by GRECE intends to prepare the minds for the revolution of the 21st Century, a revolution which will be able to combine the most ancient spiritual heritage with the most advanced technology.

The "new right" label, loaded with political connotations by definition, is, therefore, quite unsuitable in terms of GRECE's concerns. However, in France one cannot avoid labels or the traditional right-left division. Since we reject vagueness, let us define the GRECE activity as the elaboration of a "new culture of the right," immediately adding, however, that in a number of aspects this "new culture of the right" feels closer to the new left than to the old right.

2. The GRECE is against any form of totalitarianism. Denouncing all reductionisms and proclaiming that the right to be different is not the monopoly of the left, and condemning the totalitarian nature of monotheisms, including nonreligious ones, the GRECE intends to remain loyal to the spirit of tolerance, openness, and dialog— which represents the best part of European cultural tradition. What does the GRECE ask in the extensive questioning of the ideas and beliefs which dominate the last third of the 20th Century? Simply the right to speak for itself and for the others, for all others.

3. In order that a real discussion of ideas may be initiated, a minimum of intellectual honesty is required. This presupposes that one should not ascribe to the GRECE something it has never said. Let us consider two examples: The GRECE has been charged by some with advocating a "social Darwinism" and a "biological materialism." As to social Darwinism, this would mean support of the existing social system, explaining that it is proper for the most intelligent to hold the best positions. Yet, for the past 10 years the GRECE has steadily denounced the mercantile society in which we live, proving that economism and bourgeois philosophy—the blemishes of a system known as liberal—secrete an indefensible hierarchy, that of money. As to biological materialism, it would involve the claim that man is totally conditioned by his genetic components or, in other words, that what is innate and comes from nature is everything, while what has been acquired and culture are nothing. Yet, the GRECE claims, denouncing in this case "biological materialism" as one of a number of forms of reductionism, that what is inherited and acquired, what is in nature and culture, each play a part in

the complex phenomenon of the human being. Furthermore the GRECE claims, quite clearly opposing the indefensible position with which it has been charged, that man is not the passive recipient of "natural" forces, or the simple result of genetic conditioning, but, on the basis of the potential acquired by virtue of his ascendancy, man is the creator of forms, the "lord of forms," as Junger said. There is no determinism, either biological or of any other type. The greatness of man lies in his ability to build his own self and to build for himself a suitable world.

These few points, and many other, have been clearly stated by the GRECE in its publications over the past ten years. Is it too much to ask of its eventual censors to take the trouble to read before criticizing? Naturally, this presupposes the unwillingness, a priori, to reanimate the stakes of the inquisition.

### Political Alinement

Paris LE MONDE in French 25 Jul 79 p 6

[Unattributed article: "ELEMENTS: The Archaic Left-Right Binomial"]

[Text] ELEMENTS, a bimonthly published by the GRECE (European Civilization Research and Study Group), comments in its August issue editorial, on the discussion on the "new right." The editorial, signed by Robert de Herte, emphasizes the following: "Facing the 'new right,' we find the usual ectoplastic coalition of Christian personalism, the forerunners of Americanism, the old left (Messianic), and the extreme right (Catholic...). By the very size of this inevitable reaction, the dominant intelligentsia admits its theoretical poverty, and its lagging in terms of the discussion of ideas taking place today throughout the world. The emerging truth is that in terms of this intelligentsia the idea of a thinking right, the very idea that one could think outside this intelligentsia, is frankly unbearable. Yet, once again, it should have reacted sooner. Now it is too late. A broad public has acquired, henceforth, the possibility to see the gap between speeches aimed at disqualifying and the reality of what we have been tirelessly stating, fighting on two fronts, of course, opposing current totalitarianisms and reduction unilateralisms and current extremisms. The movement has been launched. It had to be, and not only in France but elsewhere, and not only on our own initiative.

"It is certainly not by chance that LIBERATION published if not the most accurate but the most honest of the attempts to analyze our positions. The point is that there exists between the "new right" and the "new left" as many ready points of convergence--rejection of totalitarianism, criticism of a society given to spectacles and of mercantile economism, questioning the hegemonism of the superpowers, recourse to popular cultures, and the desire to sink roots--as there are real or possible differences. Thus, it is becoming ever more apparent that the Aristotelian-Manichean ideas have become

sterile, and that, henceforth, a quadripolar set of problems will replace the archaic left-right binomial: old right--old left--new right--new left, with all consequent combinations.

#### Political Polarization, Radical Extremism

Paris LE FIGARO in French 3 Aug 79 pp 1, 6

[Article by Annie Kriegel: "Extreme Polarization?"]

[Text] Beyond the inevitable exaggerations of a multi-directional polemic, a few notes become necessary.

The first is that, all in all, the debate deals with high-level authentic interrogatories: Athens and Jerusalem, faith and law, innate and acquired, cultural and biological, ideology and science, classic and baroque.... It has been noted in jest that France may not have oil but does have ideas.

Ideas may be an exaggeration, but that it has conversation is certain: For at least two months the vacuum of the summer has been filled even by the popular press less by sports accomplishments than discussions based on the certainties or uncertainties of scientific disciplines as diverse and strange as the science of religion, populations genetics, or the science of education. I consider this an old yet pleasing feature.

The second observation is that nothing could be more useful than a public debate. What was most worrisome about the GRECE and its fluctuations was a practice brilliantly used by Auguste Cochin, a conservative historian, in describing for the first time, accurately, the origins of Jacobin terrorism. It is a practice based on the organization and operation of a remote control framing system based on highly integrated, centralized, and hierarchic nuclei, resting on the preremptory ideology of conquest and expansion. This is a practice which Lenin gave the communists and which, initially, accounted for a good percentage of their success and, subsequently, made Hitler and all apprentice dictators dream and which, occasionally, an ambitious doctrinarian may try again to see if he would reap the same benefits.

Yet, we should not take any random thinking society or cultural association for such a tumor and accept that an individual could consider himself another Lenin or Hitler without the consequences being the worse in terms of the destinies of mankind. In the final account, however, it would be better not to run the risk. Therefore, the obvious good remedy would be that of exposure to the sun of a pluralist debate. That is what LE FIGARO intends to watch over, with the pleasant determination embodied by Jean d'Ormesson, pursuing his own "pleasure of the Gods."

The third observation is basic: Is this "new right" simply the old right, more or less rejuvenated, or is it, conversely, a mistransformation of the extreme right? The communists are shouting that the "new right" is the same as Giscardianism. This is their fad, having reached the phase in which their sole idea is to destroy the socialist party. This was also their fatal fad when, at the turn of the 1930's, Hitler and Hindenburg were declared to be one and the same, to such an extent that, according to the communists, one could rip apart the social-democratic movement.

No: the "new right" is really a new extreme right, radically different from the old nationalistic Christian-leaning right and different from the modern right following the ideas of Machiavelli, Montesquieu and Tocqueville. The same situation has occurred with the "new left" in the 1960's: it had been a new extreme left, radically different from the old progressive and liberal left radical or socialist lining, and equally distinct from the communist left which had inherited the ideas of Leninism. Things became clearer on the vocabulary level, for it was possible to translate as "leftism" the American expression of "new left." One should perhaps speak of "rightism" rather than of the "new right." Yet, that is not the case.

Therefore, as radically distinct as the structures of the "new right" and the liberal right may be, the danger remains that in extreme circumstances (crises, wars, and disruptions, even though temporary, of the major political or economic balances, a sort of extremist polarization may develop in the course of which the classical right may lose its bearings and, yielding, as the German right did, to the Nazi stake, plunge into horror.

One must realize that one does ~~not remain~~ true to oneself at all times and that there may develop nasty circumstances in which one could "turn bad." We saw this in May of 1968: the best chapter of Jean Daniel's memoirs is the tragicomic one in which he describes the way the then editors of the NOUVEL OBSERVATEUR were literally "driven crazy" by the effect of the leftist attraction. The lesson is applicable under all circumstances.

For the time being, however, this is not the case. The "new right" is engaged, above all, in recovering everything which could be recovered from the routed new left: It is not needlessly that Alain de Benoist has praised Régis Debray and Jean Beaudrillard. The taste for the baroque, suitable and common to all extremist movements, links together the various leftist features: the "difference," the "roots," and "ethnoses." with the Breton left, looking for its Breton fascist roots of the 1930's.

Does this mean that we are sentenced to a lukewarm boring classism? No, but it means that nothing comes free: All inversions and twists, ranging from antipsychiatry to antistatism or obsessive anti-Americanism. Briefly stated, one must never separate himself too far from universal mankind, outside of which grow, in fenced lots, all the weeds: racism, anti-Semitism, xenophobia, scorn, and ideologies turned crazy and barbaric.

'Anti-Christian, Undemocratic Elitism'

Paris LE MONDE in French 25 Jul 79 p 6

[Article by T. P.: "Thoughts on Elitism"]

[Text] Week after week the debate which has developed around the "new right" goes on in the dailies. Henceforth it is less a question of already conducted investigations than of the adoption of editorial positions. In L'EXPRESS, Raymond Aron offers a sacrifice to this "vacation homework." He writes:

"Henceforth, in the FIGARO MAGAZINE, Jean d'Ormesson will play the entertainer. Alain de Benoist will be the thinker (....).

"Why am I allergic to such publications? First, because of the insidious transfer of some results borrowed from science to the field of hypotheses or exaggerations resembling untruths (....).

"I dislike people who wear on their lapel, like a decoration, their I.Q. Not that I myself do not believe that the destiny of nations largely depends on the elite. Yet, I have rarely come across among truly superior people the vanity of writers who ever question the fact that they belong to the elite (....).

"Actually, if the influence of the environment is negligible, the most gifted would succeed anyway. Let the elitists tolerate, therefore, quite serenely, the efforts of the democrats, those who do not consider the genetic choice as definitive and who try not only to give a chance to the gifted offspring of a modest family but also to create for all conditions favoring the blossoming of their factually unequal virtuality."

Going back to the "anti-Judeo-Christian writings" of Louis Pauwels which he compares with the "indefensible book" by Bernard Henri Levy (editors' note: Le Testament de Dieu [God's Testament]), Raymond Aron adds: "No concept of the world, monotheist or not, protects the individual as such or society from totalitarianism. The antidote of totalitarianism is the refusal of assuming or granting to others the monopoly of the true word."

In conclusion, he states: "The writers of the "Club de l'Horloge" remind me of the doctrinaires of the conservative revolution in pre-Hitler Germany. They do not belong to the New School group, and they object to the amalgamations of which they claim to be the victims. In turn, let them watch out for mixtures which would compromise their ideas. An intellectual and moral reform demands greater strictness and less arrogance. The privileged in terms of money and power in today's France do not suffer from excessive egalitarianism. They feel a greater need to justify themselves through their actions than to be justified by an elitist ideology."

In the Catholic weekly LA VIE (18 July) Jose de Broucker objects to "genetic materialism" and points out that, "such theories are unacceptable either in terms of reason or faith.

"The human mind could and must seek the knowledge of nature. However, it refuses to mix theory with faith. When it defines a law, after proper consideration, it is not in order to obey it but to be freed from it.

"As far as Christian faith is concerned, it can only oppose a determinism which would include creation within its own imperfection. It believes that it was precisely God who gave man the missions and the means courageously to complete it."

Michel Fromentoux as well bristles at the anti-Christian aspect of the "new right." In ASPECTS DE LA FRANCE he points out that relying on science itself means the establishment of a world ruled by force. "We must," he writes, "reestablish links with the objectivity of a proven tradition, and with the Catholic acceptance of diversity with its necessary hierarchies corrected, however, by the law of love."

Conversely, in Paris-Match Jean Cau pleads in favor of the "new right" and explains that it is a question of an aspect of the "requestioning, on both the right and the left, of the old affiliations and old labels." "It is evident," he writes, "that there exists between the new right and the new left as many possible differences as factual convergence points (such as, for example: criticism of the entertainment society, the questioning of bourgeois values, the condemnation of the two superpowers, anti-colonialism based on an acute feeling for the incommensurate nature of the cultures, watching out for the American threat, condemnation of the primacy of economism and of mercantile values, support for popular cultures, popular creativity, and the various attempts to sink roots, etc.). These are all areas in which the old right and old left have shown to be totally incapable and overwhelmed."

It is true that it is becoming ever more difficult to draw political or ideological boundaries. DRAPEAU ROUGE, the Maoist organ or the French communist organization, carries an article entitled "The French Communist Party is the New Right." Georges Guyot, the editorial's author, explains that, "The real fascist danger today is Marchais and his chauvinistic 'Marxism,' his national communism, his cult of the hierarchy, knowledge and intelligence, and his scorn for practical experience."

Such an analysis is considered surprising by Mr Nicolas de Dordegue, a reader of FRANCE NOUVELLE, the communist weekly, who asks himself if that publication should not provide a short study of the "new right." "In fact," he notes, "it seems to me that both the 'phenomenon' itself as well as the campaign conducted in all media are not without significance."

That is the least one could say about it.

### 'Intellectual Terrorism'

Paris LE MONDE in French 20-21 May 79 pp 1, 6

[Article by Lionel Stoleru, secretary of state: "La Stupiditsia"]

[Text] Everyone knows that political evolution follows the law of the pendulum: should we go too far in one direction the pendulum swings us with the same amount of vigor in the other direction. Olof Palme in Sweden, several years ago, and James Callaghan in England, of late, have had this experience.

Yet, it is frequently thought that the ideological evolution, conversely, is less fluctuating, following a "sense of history" which, going beyond the daily political vicissitudes, gives society a continuing dynamism described as the "progress of civilization."

Yet, our compass goes crazy and the magnetic arm which guided our ideas no longer points to the north, and no longer knows toward what pole to point.

Yet, as Verlaine would have said, everything was so beautiful, so tranquil. Marx was governing our political life and Freud our mental life. A tranquil intellectual class faithfully reproduced these models within a beatitude of acquired ideas which allows for painless meditation.

Then came May of 1968. In the middle of Saint-Germain Boulevard, Daniel Cohn-Bendit dared to tell Jean-Paul Sartre that the latter had no understanding whatever of what was taking place. A few people lost their illusions, among them Maurice Clavel who, unfortunately, recently closed his eyes for eternity.

The new philosophers loudly stated what many people were thinking silently: Marx had lived his life and the resulting intellectual terrorism could now usefully yield to a positive consideration of the future of our societies.

A great hope was born: the French intellectuals were finally to look at the world as it was. Perhaps they would even take up the great tradition of the Encyclopedists and depict the currents bearing our civilization.

It was at that point that things began to spoil. Reading in their newspapers that philosophy was no longer to the left, some zealous people, and even some zealots, decided that philosophy would necessarily swing to the right. Today we see the strange results of this idea.

On the one hand, a professor of medicine gathers around him his students and boasts of being a fascist. Nietzsche, Maurras, and Celine are cited and made to say what they never said; the new economists, erroneously believing that they were in step with the new philosophers, went one century back to praise the virtues of pure liberalism.

On the other hand, efforts were made to rebuild an intellectual power to fill the gap left by Marx on the left. The extremist movements begin to look in Trotsky or Gramsci excuses for their antidemocratic terrorism.

On both sides, the media, formulating theses, ambiguous to say the least, angered the faithful and the pagans, promoting order and disorder, and the right to be different and racism, as though history had not sufficiently proved how fearsome such words could be. At the same time, Régis Debray accused the intellectuals of having yielded, in their virtual totality, to the temptation of the media.

Have we lost to such an extent the sense of creation, so that our intellectuals are unable to build anything outside the trodden paths? Have we lost to such an extent the feeling of measure as to be unable to abandon Marx without going to Maurras? Have we debunked the intelligentsia merely to replace it with the stupidities? No, no, and again no!

The struggle waged over the past 10 years should not have such a sad outcome. It will not be said that the struggle against a certain extremism will be of use only to another extremism, and that the denunciation of a barbarism with a human face will merely result in depicting a humanism with a barbaric face.

Our democracy deserves something better.

Our intellectual tradition deserves something better.

We must be able to single out those among our values which, today, are the bearers of the future and to build a model to be accepted by society. The intellectuals accuse the powers that be of governing without an ideal. Yet, are the powers that be in charge of souls in a world in which the intellectuals themselves no longer have ideals to suggest? In a democracy worthy of that name is there no place for engaging in joint research based on the total elimination of reciprocal mistrust?

It is today that we must speak of this, today when we are building Europe and when we have the feeling that we can control our destiny. Every passing day, and each stone we add to the building risks to increase the difficulty, unless we watch out on time, in achieving an overall architectural mastery and the difficulty in finding a social harmony. As Leibnitz said, "Time resolves contradictions." However, it rather dissolves than resolves them, whereas the building of a civilization, conversely, can take place only on a conscious basis.

I do not know if we, the French, would be able to come together and determine whether the type of Europe we would like would be that of merchants or markets, laborers or consumers, or of a federal or confederate system. Perhaps, however, we could agree at least on the following: Let us build a Europe of intelligence and not a Europe of stupidity.

### Communist Viewpoint

Paris FRANCE NOUVELLE in French 21-27 Jul 79 pp 19-20

[Letter to the editor by Nicolas de Dordegue, Paris 14: "The New Right"]

[Text] Should not FRANCE NOUVELLE provide a brief study of "the new right?" In effect, it seems to me that the "phenomenon" itself as well as the campaign launched in all media are not without significance.

At the first glance the "new right" does not seem to be something very new, neither in terms of the subjects it is developing (Indo-European culture, and sociobiology which "explains" racial, national, and individual differences and superiorities): they had already been used as "theory" by their Nazi predecessors (including the appeal to a doubtful "scientificity" and a "modernism" which exists only as a claim), or else in its objectives: development of "elites," and reconstitution (or reconstruction) of Europe. However, it would be hasty to blend it purely and simply with the extreme fascist right which is only a minority in France.

Unquestionably, we should go further. It is obvious that the GRECE (European Civilization Research and Study Group, established in 1967) and, above all, the Club de l'Horloge (1975), supply thoughts and arguments to politicians who have already reached rather high positions in the Giscardian system (such as Poniatowski, Philippe Malaud, Joseph Fontanet, or else Jacques Medecin, judging by the books they have published recently): the system, and the entrepreneurs are increasing the number of research centers, seminars, debate clubs, and even "vocational training centers," in an effort to find various topics, reasons, and arguments which would justify the capitalist system or promise to amend it.

Some promoters of this "new right" are quite well placed within the state apparatus (for example, Yvan Blot, president of the Club de l'Horloge, heads the office of A. Devaquet, secretary general of the RPR [Rally for the Republic]; Michel Leroy, vice president of said club whose members consist of some high bureaucrats and polytechnical school alumni, is an associate of the minister of the interior, as LE NOUVEAU JOURNAL claims), or in the media (A. de Benoist and Debray-Ritzen regularly publish their columns in LE FIGARO-MAGAZINE, which editor in chief Louis Pauwels uses as the "pluralist" megaphone, side by side with Jean d'Ormesson, Michel Droit, and some other democrats of the same ilk).

Ideas, power, and means: the "new right" is playing an active role in the ideological battle. Does this not reveal the difficulties of the bourgeoisie faced with a crisis and the shortness of breath of its ideology, proving ever more clearly its bankruptcy? (The speech by U.S. President Carter reveals quite clearly the limits of the domain of the capitalist "ideal"). Is this not one of the means for waging ideological warfare against socialist ideas? In a period in which bourgeois ideology has nothing substantial to offer

which would be both exalting (austerity? zero growth?) or credible (human rights in countries marked by unemployment, trade union and racist repression, and the lowering of living standards...) there is a real risk that such obscurantist, elitist, and xenophobic ideologies may seem like a solution, thus leading to an activation of the authoritarian nature of the system and of its Europeanization.

As to the campaign waged on the subject of this "new right," it has, it seems to me, several aspects.

It is, first of all, an attempt to promulgate its ideas and topics and even to share them with others (for example, I am amazed by the obliging attitude of a number of commentators who, while proclaiming their "indignation" on the subject of the racist nature of some sociobiological theories, "recognize" the importance of the biological heritage as a factor of physical, intellectual...and even moral differentiation! Many such commentators also jointly claim that it is as a result of the "temporary death of progressivism," socialism and Marxism that a new ideology had to spring forth.... After all, this means giving a value to this substitution ideology).

Then, certainly the most important current feature is the existence of a double offensive which consists, on the one hand, of blending Marxism with this neofascism, both being "totalitarian," and "nontranscendent"... the height being reached by Jean-Francois Kahn and his "left and right Stalinists" and, on the other hand, clearing the right in power, considered "liberal," "enlightened," and "democratic," favoring the great Giscardian project of the convergence between "liberals" and social-democrats supporting the same democratic...and European values.

Behind all this we find again the desire of the system to promote its anti-social and antidemocratic policy, promote the questioning of socialism (both as an existing social system and as a concept of the world) and to question the prospects of the future, thus attempting to regain the offensive in the ideological field in this period of crisis.

To conclude, it seems to me that this campaign on the subject of "the new right," as it tries to make us forget that the right is in power, as P. Juquin said in a press conference (L'HUMANITE, 13 July 1979), is also an attempt to strengthen the positions held by the bourgeoisie in its efforts to face the contradictory consequences triggered by the crisis on the level of the conscience.

#### New Rightist Publications, Leadership

Paris LE MONDE in French 22 Jun 79 pp 1, 8

[Article by Thierry Pfeister: "The New Right Establishes Itself"]

[Text] Asked to explain him. lf, Louis Pauwels, director of FIGARO MAGAZINE and of FIGARO's cultural services, stated the following in FRANCE-SOIR of

29 March: "The positions I hold could be described as those of the 'new right.' This has nothing to do with the bourgeois, conservative, and reactionary right." In fact, the traditional reader of LE FIGARO will be offered, henceforth, on a weekly basis, a plan for a study for which he is not ready. Not that he is shocked by the denouncing of the mass civilization discussed by Louis Pauwels in his 9 June editorial, on the occasion of the European ballot, but because we find behind this topic an entire vision of a progressively rehabilitated European civilization. The attack mounted by Michel Droit against the singer Serge Gainsbourg illustrates this fact.

The masses, whether subjected to the Soviet Goulag, or sentenced to consumerism at the American rhythm, would thus illustrate Nietzsche's prediction that Slavs and Anglo-Saxons grant "non-human power" the power to reign over the world, thus putting Europe in the position of a colony, in the manner of Greece vs Rome.

In order for Europe to regain its radiance, along with its identity, it should reestablish its links with the deep cultural roots which, still in his 9 June editorial, Louis Pauwels enumerates: the Greek theater, Roman epic, the Celtic poems, and the Germanic legends. Even though not explicitly specified, it would be a matter of removing the varnish of 2,000 years of Judeo-Christianity of which Marxism would be nothing but the "laicized theory."

Actually, Louis Pauwels concludes his study and reveals his deepest thought in a chapter of the collective work signed Majastra, extensively quoted in the last issue of ELEMENTS, the GRECE review (European Civilization Research and Study Group). He invokes "the old Europe inhabited by men who were the brothers of the Gods." He denounces equalitarianism as the main danger. He promotes elitism in the name of science which, he explains, proves that "men do not come out of a universal matrix as identical products."

For several years this type of analysis has been promoted by a group of intellectuals inspired by Alain de Benoist who has assumed in FIGARO MAGAZINE permanent charge over the life of ideas.

We also find here Patrice de Plunkett, the editor in chief of the weekly FIGARO supplement. Coming, most of them, from the extreme right groups of Jeune Nation and Europe Action, with the exception of Patrice de Plunkett, who was a monarchist, they have drawn their conclusions based on the failure of their friends in the course of the 1967 legislative elections and the May and June 1968 events. They have substituted action on the intellectual level to traditional political involvement, inspired by the theses of Antonio Gramsci, the Italian Marxist theoretician. A real network gradually developed through the GRECE, and the NOUVELLE ECOLE review, and, currently, the Club de l'Horloge. The connection is obvious and acknowledged. For example, in its last issue ELEMENTS emphasizes that "by virtue of its concerns the Club de l'Horloge follows the same electoral channel as the GRECE." Yet, those in charge of the different organs ferociously deny any institutional links.

The GRECE decided to grant statutory autonomy to the NOUVELLE ECOLE review in 1969. In order to ensure the success of this publication which both then and now has been experiencing financial difficulties, the leaders of the GRECE decided that both doctrine and political positions based on the analyses of the NOUVELLE ECOLE would be incompatible with the popularization of the review in scientific circles. Very skillfully, they decided instead to set up a big support committee which would free their publication. Furthermore, in confidential memorandums sent to the supporters of GRECE (who were asked to "destroy after reading"), they were asked, on the one hand, to write their objections to the press organs which carry articles unfavorable to the group and, on the other hand, not to indicate any eventual ties between the GRECE and NOUVELLE ECOLE.

Nevertheless, we find in these various publications the same names, above all those of Alain de Benoist, enabled by his encyclopedic culture to assume the role of an ideologist. A policy of manifestation in the right wing periodical press has been added to such specific support by the network. Such writers began to contribute, on a privileged basis, to SPECTACLE du Monde and to VALEURS ACTUELLES, organs of the press group controlled by Mr Raymond Bourguine, who became the CNIP [National Center of Independents and Peasants], representing Paris, who was member of the NOUVELLE ECOLE patronage committee. A disagreement developed because of the denunciation of Christianity by the new right and, above all, of an issue of NOUVELLE ECOLE dedicated to the United States and critical of American imperialism. Bourguine withdrew from the patronage committee. For the same reason Francois d'Orcival, who remained editor in chief of VALEURS ACTUELLES, put some distance between himself and his GRECE promoter friends.

Seduced by NOUVELLE ECOLE, Louis Pauwels in turn became member of the patronage committee. The experience of the PLANETE review had enabled him to appreciate the line of intellectual research followed by the director of FIGARO MAGAZINE and his liking of a scientific language and pagan thinking. Therefore, he recruited supporters of a new right, profiting from the crisis of ideas of the left, specifically illustrated by the "new philosophers," thus making an attempt to give the political right an ideology.

#### The Temporary Death of Progressivism

Even if during World War II the rightists distinguished themselves in the resistance movement, it is a fact that when the liberation came the left and the Christian democracy dominated intellectual life and developed the equalitarian theses which became the common lot of the political discourse. The Marxist analysis system further profoundly influenced a large number of university professors. Recalling that time, in an interview granted LIRE, last April, Roland Barthes could speak of the "Marxist bulldozer."

A victim of Stalin and of the "socialist" potentates of the Third World, Marxism, revised and amended by the communist party, is ebbing. Freud has

fallen victim of a similar process. A return to the types of research which appeared to have been abandoned may be seen. Slowly, running from political to ideological disappointment, the intelligentsia has broken progressivism. "In different ways," explains Roland Barthes, "they proclaimed their historical pessimism and determined the provisional death of progressivism." On a parallel basis, a certain anti-intellectualism is showing in a variety of ways, the "master thinkers" having erred. "Periodically," Roland Barthes points out, "French society, clashing, as it were, with its taste for prestige, throws tantrums or fits of anti-intellectualism. Without extending this analysis further, we could state today that this is related to the reshaping of social classes. In France, to use the old terminology, there has been an unquestionable 'petit bourgeois' thrust in the fields of institutions and culture."

Thus, a return to romanticism—the "new romantics"—could be considered a testimony of such a state of mind. Were not the romantics the first to separate the mind from the heart? "Anti-intellectualism is a romantic myth," Barthes goes on to say. Finally, let us recall that before the war fascism had already become "an anti-intellectual reaction, a reaction of affectivity against democratic rationalism."<sup>2</sup> It is on such compost that the theses of the new right, promoted by the GRECE and the NOUVELLE ECOLE, blossom.

The promoters are doing everything possible to expand their audience. Willingly they act as researchers for politicians in pursuit of the status of philosopher.

It is thus that Jacques Medecin, UDF [French Democratic Union] deputy for Alpes-Maritimes, the author of "Le Terreau de la liberte [The Compost of Freedom], Philippe Malaud, unaffiliated deputy from Saone-et-Loire, author of "La Revolution liberale" [The Liberal Revolution], and Michel Poniatowski, former minister of state, author of "L'avenir n'est écrit nulle part" [The Future is Predicted Nowhere] did not hesitate to resort to the services of Alain de Benoist and his friends. For example, Poniatowski takes over the theses of Professor Debray-Ritzen, cherished by the new right, on the determining role of genetic heredity in terms of I.Q. The Editions Copernic, one of the relay stops of the new right, has just published on this topic the work by Hans J. Eysenck, a Britton, entitled "L'inegalite de l'homme" [Man's Inequality] as well as another essay signed by the pseudonym of Jean-Pierre Hebert on "Race et Intelligence" [Race and Intelligence]. These works take up the theses of Professor Jensen, explaining I.Q. differences among races as a result of the intervention of a genetic factor.

Thus mobilized, biology is put at the service of eugenics, i.e., of a social theory based on the science of conditions favoring the preservation of the quality of the human species. For example, it leads NOUVELLE ECOLE to favor, in addition to abortion and euthanasia, the elimination of the most flagrant pathological cases, and the programming of desired types. Such theses use a

cautious terminology, for the new right is not unaware of the fact that this aspect of its analyses is the one which could lead it to experience the gravest difficulties, legal ones included. The Catholic circles which are siding or has sided with the extreme right hve been affected. Whether some pro-integration groups or members of the New Royalist Action headed by Bertrand Renouvin, they have sounded the alarm. This led to the energizing of LA CROIX and LA VIE, along with the MRAP (Movement Against Racism and for Friendship Among the Peoples). It is true that the simple intellectual anti-Judaic steps taken by the new right quickly tends, for example, to depict the Jew as The Other One.

### The Lessons of History

Thus, progressively, the body of a doctrine is being reconstituted. In the name of the struggle against the mass societies, an elite has been called upon to separate itself. In order to set it up, it is suggested, on the one hand, to go back to pre-Christian roots; on the other hand, this calls for the use of biology to justify eugenics and to rehabilitate Nietzsche's idea of the superman. This new aristocracy has already established the objective of its struggle against that which, in December 1973, in the course of the 13th Colloquium sponsored by the GRECE, Michel Marmin described as "the equalitarian bride." He added: "The word of the aristocracy alone could guarantee and legitimize the struggle against equalitarianism." Thus, in addition to a return to romanticism, and in addition to the Celtic legends, Great Germany is called upon, in the latest issue of ELEMENTS, to wake up and reunite and even reestablish its irredentist attitude (LE MONDE, 10-11 June).

If Marxism is to be disqualified because of its totalitarianism, what about the new right? The lessons of history are numerous. European culture has given birth, in this 20th Century, to another barbarism: Nazism. To say the least the steps followed by Alain de Benoist and his friends reestablish their links with the pre-World War I revolutionary right, the one which laid the foundations of a French type fascism. We rediscover the conceptual framework of social Darwinism. As show by Zeev Sterhell,<sup>2</sup> This doctrine "shares with popular and vulgarized Marxism, particularly as it is understood in France, the idea of determinism. However, historical materialism, the struggle for existence, and the [words missing] by : 'ological and racial determinism, and the principle of the struggle for life and for the survival of the fittest, and therefore, of the best. It is in this sense that the ideology of the radical right is a revolutionary ideology: its principles call for nothing less than the destruction of the old order of things."

On this last point as well the idea has not been changed. For example, at the 13th GRECE Colloquium Guillaume Faye stated that "According to a process similar to Marxism, liberalism developed an economic reductionism. According to it men represent nothing but abstract factors intervening in the market, as customers, consumers, and manpower units. Cultural, ethnic, and political

specifics constitute that many obstacles and temporary anomalies in terms of the utopia to be reached: a global market without book boundaries, without races, and without exceptions. This utopia is more dangerous than that of communist equalitarianism, for it is even more extremist and more pragmatic."

Under such conditions, one can only be amazed by seeing some sectors within Giscardian current to let themselves be penetrated by the new right, since the two political lines remain, theoretically, antagonistic. What makes this process more alarming is that one of the objectives of the new right has always been to position or to link itself to "influential men operating in the decision making areas of today and, even more so, of the future." Henceforth, therefore, a more immediate political presence is added to such a presence in the field of journalism and publishing, via the Club de l'Horloge. Introduced by FIGARO MAGAZINE as a reservoir for future political cadres of the majority, this body is presided over by Yvan Blot, who has taken part in GRECE activities while pursuing his career in the offices of Poniowski and Bonnet, before becoming chief of cabinet of Alain Devaquet, RPR secretary general.

This situation justifies the excitement shown here<sup>4</sup> by Lionel Stoleru, secretary of state for manual and immigrant workers, who noted among his own political friends the tenets of a "humanism with a barbaric face."

#### FOOTNOTES

1. ELEMENTS, 13 Rue Charles-Lecock, 75015 Paris.
2. "La Droite revolutionnaire (1885-1914)" [The Revolutionary Right (1885-1914)] by Zeev Sterhell, Editions du Seuil.
3. NOUVELLE ECOLE, No 9, Post Office Box 129-07, 75326 Paris, Cedex 07.
4. LE MONDE, 20-21 May.

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## COUNTRY SECTION

## 'NEW RIGHT' IDEOLOGIST ALAIN DE BENOIST INTERVIEWED

Hamburg DER SPIEGEL in German 20 Aug 79 pp 157-162

[Interview with Alain de Benoist on the "rerooting" ideology of the French New Right: "To Arouse the Old Ethnic Spirit"; date and place of interview not given]

[Text] Together with extreme right-wing students, Alain de Benoist in 1968 founded the "Groupement de recherche et d'etudes pour la civilisation francaise" [Research and Study Group for French Civilisation], whose acronym GRECE is intended to call ancient Greek culture to mind. This organization, now comprising 5,000 members, became the hard core of the New Right. It calls for an ideological war against whatever it does not regard as primevally European—Christianity, communism and Americanism. The 36-year-old Benoist has for the past 11 years also been the publisher and editor-in-chief of the New Right's theoretical journal, NOUVELLE ECOLE, and head of the publishing firm of "Editions Copernic," whose books, in addition to justifying racial theories, are intended to provide scientific justification for elitist thinking and the idea of natural inequality. Benoist's encyclopedic dissertation "Vu de droite" [Seen From the Right], published in 1977, today is considered the standard work of the New Right.

SPIEGEL: Is France's "New Right" a neofascist vanguard or only an intellectual fad? Does it actually have to be taken seriously?

Benoist: We are neither neofascists nor a new fad but an intellectual movement of the new generation against the old. It began as early as the end of the 1960's, at the same time that the New Left detached itself from the orthodox Marxists.

SPIEGEL: Why, then, are people talking about the New Right only now, 10 years after it was founded?

Benoist: Since the war, the public debate here in France has been dominated exclusively by leftist groups. As a result of the decline of Marxist ideologies in the past few years and the political shipwreck of the two left-wing parties, the Communist Party and the Socialist Party, there occurred an ideological vacuum, and all of a sudden the press discovered that our intellectual movement corresponded to the new spirit of the times.

SPIEGEL: Was not the reason the fact that we new press czar Hersant, who took over LE FIGARO and the sensationalist FRANCE-SOIR, was advertising it regularly?

Benoist: Yes, that contributed to it. Louis Pauwels, named by Hersant as editor-in-chief of the new FIGARO MAGAZINE, asked us to join his editorial staff. This expanded our readership from about 100,000 to almost 2 million French.

SPIEGEL: You owe your success to a man who collaborated with the Nazis and never explicitly dissociated himself from his former views.

Benoist: Hersant's past is no murkier than that of many prominent leftists, such as the head of the Socialists, Mitterrand, or PCP head Georges Marchais or that of your SPD head, Willy Brandt.

SPIEGEL: Because Brandt was anti-Nazi?

Benoist: What I dislike is that he simply went abroad at the time. I am more impressed with the fighters of 20 July.

SPIEGEL: How is that, considering that you find Hersant's past irrelevant?

Benoist: For me as a journalist, it is important above all else to have complete freedom to express my opinion. Hersant respects it absolutely.

SPIEGEL: What actually is new about the New Right--in comparison with the traditional right that was influential before the war?

Benoist: The old right was an omnium-gatherum of traditionalists in the Catholic sense, royalists and Bonapartists. I am neither a Christian nor royalist; nor do I have any anti-Semitic feelings. We are at least as far removed ideologically from the traditional right as we are from the leftists.

SPIEGEL: And yet you are standing in the reactionary camp and not, for example, on the side of the liberals. After all, you yourself coined the label of "New Right." In what respect is there agreement with the old right?

Benoist: In the view that all people on the right differ from all leftists: explicit recognition of the fact that people are unequal and different.

SPIEGEL: The ideal of equality really applies only to certain phases of the life of society. You, on the other hand, in your essays and writings turn the inequality of people into an absolute law of nature.

Benoist: No. In the judicial system, for instance, I support the principle of equal treatment, and in education the principle of equal opportunity. On the plane of a common culture and history, the differences between people in a way are relative.

SPIEGEL: You deviate here from your own doctrine, the endorsement of fundamental inequality. Even a socialist might find this acceptable.

Benoist: There you are mistaken. Here in France, left-wing theorists continue to rely on the principle that all differences are only the result of one's milieu. Among communists there still exists the belief that one need only change the circumstances and immediately a new, generally equal, person is created.

SPIEGEL: No serious theorist here in the West, now even a communist one, still believes in that dogma. But you combine your principle with the idea of a hierarchical society ruled by an "elite of the most capable." In doing so you remain faithful to the tradition of the French reactionary right.

Benoist: Not at all. We are young conservatives, not reactionaries! We want to come up with a new basis for elitist thinking, not one of privileges or a caste society. We proceed on the premise that modern society, whether it is democratic or totalitarian, is directed by a small group of leaders. Even in the socialist countries which embrace complete egalitarianism there exists a small stratum of leaders today.

SPIEGEL: There is nothing new in this realization.

Benoist: What is new about it is that we do not want to abolish this principle but endorse it--provided that the way to the elite is open to everyone. This means that we are fighting against any kind of privileged position and instead demand the greatest possible furtherance of native talents.

SPIEGEL: What would a state implementing this idea in practice have to look like?

Benoist: I am no politician, and no futurologist either.

SPIEGEL: Is it, then, irrelevant as far as your theory goes whether the new society is constituted democratically or in a totalitarian way?

Benoist: I fundamentally support parliamentary democracy--to avoid any misunderstanding between us. Much more important than the institutions of the political system, however, in our view, is the socially bequeathed mythology and the ethnic spirit contained in it. The spirit of our era, for instance, bears the stamp of the myth of equality.

SPIEGEL: Do you want to liquidate the achievements of the French Revolution?

Benoist: I criticize not the principle and the need of the revolution but only the rule of terror and the totalitarian thinking connected with it. I do not want to turn back the wheel of history.

SPIEGEL: You and your friends write in a great number of articles that political and cultural life has been ruined primarily by the predominance of economics. This means that you are criticizing the foundations of industrialized society.

Benoist: One must not accept, along with progress, the drawbacks of progress. We want the self-dynamics of economics to be limited and the multinational power of industry to be dismantled. There must be a stop to life being reduced to a single dimension.

SPIEGEL: This combination of criticism of growth and cultural criticism was expressed in a considerably more pregnant way by the Frankfurt School as early as 20 years ago. Are you of a sudden a supporter of the "Critical Theory"?

Benoist: It is true that there is a certain agreement between the late writings of Herbert Marcuse and our views, but we are criticizing the fact of a single social dimension from a totally different vantage point. With its negative anthropology, the Frankfurt School advocates the exact opposite of what we want.

SPIEGEL: Apparently you do not want to make up your mind on whether or not to endorse technological progress and the growth in alienation connected with it.

Benoist: I am wholly in favor of technological progress, such as the expansion of nuclear energy. I merely guard against the ideology of progress in its moral sense.

SPIEGEL: But technological progress too means progressive authority over nature and determination by outside forces over the fate of man...

Benoist: . . .unless a political authority intervenes and guides.

SPIEGEL: In what way?

Benoist: Government authority, for instance, must prohibit a factory owner from polluting a river because the beauty of nature is just as important as the industrial product.

SPIEGEL: Any environmentalist could endorse this.

Benoist: If only the environmentalists did not preach any "back to nature!" For they have fallen prey to the crazy notion of being able to stop all progress altogether.

SPIEGEL: Do you demand the subordination of economics to politics?

Benoist: Yes, absolutely. The state must be master of the economy, and not the other way round.

SPIEGEL: But you also mentioned the wrong order of social values, saying that it had to be changed fundamentally. What do you mean by that?

Benoist: In opposition to the demon of economism and egalitarianism, we would like to reawaken the old spirit of the European cultures.

SPIEGEL: Why should the pre-Christian cultures of the Greeks, Romans, Celts and Germans have been any more human, thus corresponding better to human nature than do modern times?

Benoist: Because there the old principle of natural inequality was valid, and the hierarchical society with its elitist order had a natural basis. These basic structures, besides, are supported by scientific findings.

SPIEGEL: Which do you mean?

Benoist: For example, the research by ethologist and Nobel Prize winner Konrad Lorenz about innate instinctive behavior. But also the investigations by the U.S. specialists in behavioral genetics, Edward O. Wilson and Richard Dawkins, according to whom social structure is defined biologically. The findings of biogenetics are also important. They show to what extent human behavior is predestined by genotypes.

SPIEGEL: A great deal of this research has been refuted or is controversial or purely hypothetical. But, above all, it does not document a primeval human civilization in Europe. The "rerooting" of people propagated by the New Right appears to be based rather on the "people, blood and soil", myth.

Benoist: The blood-and-soil myth is a grotesque perversion of the rerooting concept. After all, people everywhere are searching for their roots. For instance, the book "Roots" by the black American Alex Haley, or the young nations of the Third World. Even the New Left is about to discover rerooting.

SPIEGEL: But they have something different in mind from what you envisage. You have written, and I quote verbatim: "What are the historical and transitory fatherlands worth compared with the carnal-sensual and eternal fatherlands? How significant really are the barriers of history compared with the limits of blood?" This is blood-and-soil mythology.

Benoist: What I meant was the culture of the regions and of the ethnic minorities in France.

SPIEGEL: And the blood aspect?

Benoist: I mean, for instance, the Breton people or the Basque people. For them the French nation which emerged through history is almost meaningless compared with their own culture. There you can see that particularly these days the "carnal-sensual and eternal fatherlands" are resurging.

SPIEGEL: What have the minority problem and the strengthening regionalism have to do with blood ties?

Benoist: Clearly the ethnic peculiarity of regional minorities constitutes part of their collective personality, though this aspect is not so important. By "rerooting" I mean quite generally that ethnic groups become conscious again of their cultural history and people learn to live in awareness of their past and future.

SPIEGEL: But these are empty formulas. Modern man is integrated in his natural culture, whether or not he values it.

Benoist: I take a different view of that. Social and regional cultural differences have been leveled out. The "America way of life," the consumer society, holds away everywhere. A central government bureaucracy is leveling off everything, and politics influenced by left-wing theorists seeks to eliminate all differences.

SPIEGEL: And what may I ask, do communal cultural traditions have to do with the "eternal limits of blood"?

Benoist: In France most cultural traditions of minorities are rooted in an ethnic soil. Of course, it is only a soil. In many articles against racism I have invariable stressed the fact that history is more important than biology, culture more important than nature?

SPIEGEL: You are escaping again into empty formulas. After all, the history of Europe includes the last 200 years of industrialization and the emergence of the modern society which you reject.

Benoist: Before we can know them, we must elaborate and interpret the lasting values in our history of European civilization extending over many thousands of years.

SPIEGEL: These "lasting values," according to the journal *ELEMENTS* which is part of your movement, include the Teutonic Germany and the German-French community of peoples such as existed under Charlemagne. Why?

Benoist: Because the two peoples constitute the heart, and sometimes also something of the spirit and soul of Europe.

SPIEGEL: Under the collective pseudonym of "Robert de Herte," the publication states that reunification has been predestinated for the German people.

Benoist: I have not written so, but I believe in European integration; and by that I mean that of all Europe--in other words, also that of the Eastern peoples. And one of the most important prerequisites for this is the reunification of Germans independent from Russians and Americans.

SPIEGEL: The fact that ELEMENTS devoted an issue to Germany is not an isolated case. In your theoretical issues, in your books and essays, ample space is devoted to the German spirit.

Benoist: The current importance of German thinking justifies the place we acknowledge to it.

SPIEGEL: What amazes us that evidently you are allowing yourself to be fascinated by a group of Germans who also played an important role at the time of the Nazis or who today form part of the reactionaries.

Benoist: In my book "Vu de droite," I show that I have been guided by thinkers like Bertrand Russell and even Antonio Gramsci. Any way, I think that the old left-right or fascist-antifascist pattern no longer fits our attempts in the field of theory.

SPIEGEL: Maybe in your case the lines of separation become blurred. Nevertheless, it is striking that you concede pride of place to the pathfinders, the ideological precursors and fellow thinkers of nazism. You pay tribute to the nationalist Ernst von Salomon who participated in the murder of Rathenau, and you commemorate the trigger-happy Freikorps as the saviors of the Weimar Republic--a glorification of ultra-rightist terrorism.

Benoist: I think you are confusing different nationalist trends.

SPIEGEL: You have also dealt particularly intensively with Carl Schmitt, whose theories were significant for the Nazis' concept of the state. In addition to Arnold Gehlen, you regard him as your most important model.

Benoist: The great importance of the philosophy of Carl Schmitt, who came into conflict with the Nazis, today is recognized the world over.

SPIEGEL: You name as the "most important living writer in the German language area not Heinrich Boell or Guenther Grass, but the conservative-elitist poet Ernst Juenger.

Benoist: Juenger, on account of his basic existentialist attitude, is among the most popular German authors in France. I find it peculiar to be reproached for being interested in your authors.

SPIEGEL: The reproach lies with the objects of your interest. Almost every issue of NOUVELLE ECOLE, of which you are in charge, quotes German authors from the Nazi times about culture and race. In an issue devoted to Richard Wagner there is an article on heritage and musical talent, quoting almost exclusively racial geneticists from the times of the Nazis. You are the author of an article commemorating Ludwig Schemann, who became known as a racial theorist.

Benoist: To quote is not to agree with what is quoted. Besides, I quote various views.

SPIEGEL: The patronage committee of your theoretical journal includes, in addition to Ernst Anrich, even a member of the German NPD [National Democratic Party of Germany]--along with an apartheid theorist from South Africa and biogenetics apostles from the United States. Your closest friends and employees include Armin Mohler, not under suspicion of harboring any kind of liberal thoughts.

Benoist: On our patronage committee are 200 personages known throughout the world, including Arthur Koestler, Konrad Lorenz and Marcea Eliade. Besides, it annoys me a great deal that you do not differentiate between the various conservative trends in Germany.

SPIEGEL: Judging from your journals, there is a certain affinity between your rerooting idea and the racist theories of the time of nazism--incidentally also in regard to your gullibility toward science, which creates the impression that a genetic heritage of European cultural values can be proved scientifically, which of course is arrant nonsense.

Benoist: Personally, I have always maintained the opposite. I, too, regard this idea as ridiculous. What is at stake for us is the values that have survived the 2,000-year-old history of Christianity.

SPIEGEL: Whatever these values may be--how are they to be saved?

Benoist: As a result of eliminating instruction in Latin and Greek in schools, for instance, we have completely lost our rapport with antiquity. We must make that past our own again.

SPIEGEL: Ancient Greek as a first foreign language, followed by Celtic and Medieval German as the second and third--would that be a school reform for 21st-century Europe.

Benoist: One can learn the languages of our cultural past without making them the first or second foreign language--unless one wants to scoff at everything.

## AUTHORS, PUBLISHERS, PRESS COMMENTATORS ATTEND COMMUNIST FAIR

## List of Authors, Publishers

Paris L'HUMANITE in French 5 Sep 79 p 5

[Excerpt] Book Village, vintage 1979, here you will read the raw data: of the publishers who are there with their books, of the authors invited by those publishers.

The publishers: the simple rule is well known. Each of them is invited to La Courneuve and there he proposes the books he has chosen.

The authors: publishers invite the authors whom they propose to have meet the public at the L'HUMANITE Festival.

One glance at the lists and an observation is required: the chief thing about French publishing is there, the spread of the announced authors is truly representative of French diversity. That's fine, Book Village is a free village; like the whole L'HUMANITE Festival, it amounts to a living expression of the policy of the Communist Party.

Naturally the publishing houses close to the Communist Party are there and each of them will be returned to, because it is true that the requirement of free democratic debate comes about through the full expression of Communist ideas, does it not?

Also, it is not surprising to see the Book Village debates plunge their themes at the heart of those of the ideologic confrontation, a confrontation in which we are taking part, especially with the new releases of Editions Sociales: "For a Self-Management Strategy" (Felix Danette, Jacques Scheibling, Gilbert Wasserman), "Marxism and History" (Michele Bertrand), "Fascism, Ideology and Practice" (Roger Bourderon) and of course "The ABC's of Communists," by Etienne Fajon, about which Francette Lazard spoke here yesterday.

## Authors Invited by Their Publishers

Alexandre Adler, Louis Althusser, Rene Andrieu, Louis Aragon, Jacques Arnault, Antoine Audouard, Gilbert Badia, Etienne Balibar, Christian Baudelot, Olivier Barrot, Nicole Bedrines, Pierre Bellemare, Colette Bernas, Jean-Paul Bertaud, Michele Bertrand, Guy Besse, Louisette Blanquart, Paul Boccara, Guy Bois, Lucien Bonnafe, Roger Borniche, Alain Bosquet, Francoise Bouillot, Roger Bourderon, Nadine Bourdin, Pierre Bourgeade, Paul Bourgues, Pierre Brandon, Jacques Briere, Robert Brisset, Jean Bruhat, Suzanne de Brunhoff, Jean Burles.

Marcel Caille, Henry Canacos, Marie Cardinal, Antoine Casanova, Jean Cazalbou, Jacques Charpentreau, Bernard Chenez, Catherine Claude, Henri Claude, Catherine Clement, Francis Cohen, Suzy Cohen, Stephane Collaro, Jean Colpin, Gerard Cornillet, Felix Damette, Daniel Debatisse, Regis Debray, Maurice Decaillot, Jean-Pierre Delilez, Henry Deluy, Jacques Denis, Roland Desne, Jean-Michel Devesa, Charles Dobzynski, Sylvain Dreyfus, Gilberte Duclos, Albert Ducrocq, Pierre Durand, Jean Effel, Jean Elleinstein, Bernard Epin, Yves Eyot.

Etienne Fajon, Max-Pol Fouchet, Claude Frioux, Jean Gacon, Pierre Gamarra, Jacques Gaucheron, Madeleine Gilard, Simone and Auguste Gillot, Jacques Girault, Maurice Goldring, Francis Gruyer, Alain Guerin, Bachir Hadj Ali, Christian Hernandez, Francois Hincker, Raymond Jean, Pierre Juquin, Daniel Karlin, Jean and Nina Kehayan, Guy Konopnicki, Georges Labica, Tony Laine, Bernard Landry, Gerard Laprat, Paul Laurent.

Francoise Lazard-Levaillant, Jean-Pierre Lefebvre, Rene Leguen, Clement Lepidis, Irene Lezine, Claude Mainfroy, Lilly Marcou, Sylvie Mascles, Roger Martelli, Bernard Marx, Gonzales Matta, Claude Mazauric, Albert Memmi, Paulette Michel, Guy Michelat, Jacques Milhau, Jean-Pierre Millecam, Andre Moine, Maurice Moissonnier, Gerard Molina, Louis Molinier, Claude Montagny, Claude Morand, Jean Mortier, Bernard Muldworf, Albert Ouzoulias, Pierre Paraf, Charles Parain, Jean-Charles Payen, Gilles Perrault, Claude Picant, Jean-Claude Poulain, Wladimir Pozner, Claude Prevost.

Jean-Francois Reille, Andre Remacle, Madeleine Riffaud, Jean Ristat, Leon Robel, Philippe Robrieux, Jean Rocchi, Pierre-Andre Roch, Jean-Dominique de la Rochefoucauld, Henri Rollin, Max Rongier, Elizabeth Roudinesco, Gonzague Saint-Brice, Laurent Salini, Roger Salomon, Francois Salvaing, Jean Sanitas, Francois Sautereau, Jacques Scheibling, Vincent Sebire, Daniel Segala, Lucien Seve, Michel Simon, Albert Soboul, Helene Soulie, Jean Suret-Canale, Antoine Spire, Andre Stil, Gerard Streiff.

Haroun Tazieff, Jean-Louis Terrade, Jean-Claude Thomas, Jacques Toisier, Maguelonne Toussaint-Samat, Anne Ubersfeld, Marie-Claude Vaillant-Couturier, Yves Vargas, Yann Viens, Andre Vieuguet, Madeleine Vincent, Barbara Vormeier, Gilbert Wasserman, Claude Willard, Germaine Willard, Georges Wolinski, Serge Wolikow, Andre Wurmser, Uri Zelbststein.

## Publishers Present

Editions Sociales  
Editeurs Francais Reunis--Revue Europe  
La Farandole  
Livre Club Diderot  
Mejdounarodnaia Kniga; Editions de Moscou  
La Courtille-Hier et Demain  
Beauval  
CFED [expansion unknown]  
Ecole des Loisirs  
Editions des Autres  
Editions Classiques Contemporaines  
Editions des Femmes  
Editions No 1  
Encyclopaedia Universalis-EBS [expansion unknown]  
Flammarion-Jeunesse  
Grasset  
Gamma-Languedoc-Roussillon  
Gallimard  
Hachette  
Hachette-Jeunesse  
Larousse  
Livre de Poche  
Maspero-Edi  
Mazenod  
F. Nathan  
Le Robert  
Rombaldi-Lithographie  
Ramsay  
Seuil

## Journals and Publications

L'HUMANITE  
CAHIERS DU COMMUNISME  
FRANCE NOUVELLE  
ECONOMIE ET POLITIQUE  
LA NOUVELLE CRITIQUE  
LA Pensee  
CAHIERS DU CERM [Center for Marxist Study and Research]  
CAHIERS DE L'INSTITUT MAURICE-THOREZ  
L'ECOLE ET LA NATION  
L'ELU D'AUJOURD'HUI  
ANTOINETTE  
LA VIE OUVRIERE  
PRATIQUES  
DIALECTIQUES  
MESSIDOR-FONDATION DU LIVRE  
FILIGRANE

### Additional List of Authors

Paris L'HUMANITE in French 6 Sep 79 p 11

[Text] The list of authors invited by their publishers to autograph their works at the Book Village 79 was incomplete yesterday. The following names should be added: Gerard Belloin, Jean-Pierre Faye, Jean-Marc Gayman, Nella Masuti, Marie-Claude Vaillant-Couturier, Monique and Roland Weyl and Andre Rossel.

### Foreign Press Delegations

Paris L'HUMANITE in French 8 Sep 79 p 10

[Text] South Africa--SECHABA (African National Congress [ANC]; Thani Sindelo, ANC representative in Algeria and Italy.

Algeria--REVOLUTION AFRICAINE.

Angola--BOLETIM DO MILITANTE (MPLA [Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola]-Labor Party); Jose Carmelino, newspaper section chief, and a delegation of five members.

Argentina--NUESTRA PALABRA; Alfredo Dratman, Galo Oviedo, member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Argentina.

Australia--TRIBUNE; Mavis Robertson, member of the National Executive Committee of the Communist Party of Australia.

Austria--VOSKSTIMME; Otto Janecek, assistant editor-in-chief.

Belgium--DE RODE VAAN; Miel Dullaert, social politics editor.

Belgium--LE DRAPEAU ROUGE; Michel Dermine, editorial secretary.

West Berlin--DIE WAHRHEIT; Helmut Lehmann, head of the domestic politics section.

Bolivia--UNIDAD; Roberto Soria Romero and Jorge Ibanez, representatives of the newspaper.

Brazil--VOZ OPERARIA; A. Guedes, editor.

Bulgaria--RABOTNITCHESKO DELO; Kilio Kolev, assistant editor-in-chief, Radoslav Stantchev from the foreign policy department of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party.

Chile--EL SIGLO; Sergio Villegas, representing the newspaper.

Colombia--VOZ PROLETARIA; Manuel Cepeda Vargas, editor, member of the Executive Committee of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Colombia, Yira Castro de Cepeda, editorial staff member, member of the Central Committee.

Korea--RODONG SINMOUN; Kim Seuk Rai, assistant editor-in-chief, Pak Myeng Hak, editor, Kim Hyo Keun.

Cuba--GRAMA; Mario Averof.

Eritrea--People's Liberation Front of Eritrea; Nafi Kurdi, representative of the Front in France.

Spain--MUNDO OBRERO: Antonia Benito, assistant editor-in-chief.

Finland--KANSAN UUTiset; Matti Juhani Erkki, marketing director.

Great Britain--MORNING STAR; Mary Rosser, editorial secretary.

Greece--RIZOPASTIS; Tatis Manatis, co-director, member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Greece.

Guadeloupe--L'ETINCELLE; Emmanuel Ibene, member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Guadeloupian Communist Party.

Equatorial Guinea--LA VOZ DEL PUEBLO (THE VOICE OF THE PEOPLE); Santiago Afana, member of the Executive Committee of the National Alliance for the Democratic Restoration of Equatorial Guinea (ARND), Jacinto Etula, Ernesto Tamsir, Emilio Luba.

Hungary--NEPSZABADSAG; Ferenc Varnai, foreign policy section chief of the newspaper, member of the editorial committee, Gyula Horn, foreign policy section chief of the Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Worker Party.

Ira --MARDOM; Aboutorab Bagher-Zadeh, Reza Chaltouki, members of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Tudeh Party, Reza Gholan.

Israel--ZO HADEREKH and AL-ITTIHAD; Emile Touma, editor-in-chief of AL-ITTIHAD, member of the Political Bureau and secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Israel.

Italy--L'UNITA; Sergio Banali, editor-in-chief of the Milan edition, Giuseppe Orefice, director of the newspaper's Rome printing press.

Japan--AKAHATA; Taro Miyamoto, member of the Central Committee of the Japanese Communist Party.

Lebanon--AN-NIDA; Nadim Abdul Samad, member of the Political Bureau and secretary of the Central Committee of the Lebanese Communist Party, Ali Saad, administrative manager of the newspaper.

Lebanon--AL-'ANBA'A; Sami Zebian, editor-in-chief, Riad Raad, member of the Command Council of the Progressive Socialist Party, Emir Mourtada, in charge of public relations for the newspaper.

Morocco--AL-BAYANE; Abdelouahad Souheil, member of the Political Bureau of the Party of Progress and Socialism.

Mexico--OPOSICION; Samuel Melendrez, member of the Political Bureau and secretary of the Central Committee of the Mexican Communist Party, Antonio Quinonez, member of the Central Committee and the Central Control Commission.

Mongolia--OUNEN; D. Chagdarsouren, section chief, Yadmaaguin Dachenyam.

Namibia--NAMIBIA NEWS; Peter Meaning, SWAPO [South West African People's Organization] representative in London.

Oman--SAOUT ATH-THAOIRA; Nasser Abdullah Saeed, representing the Oman People's Liberation Front.

Palestine--FALASTIN AL-THANRAH; Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), Samy Abdulghani, assistant editor-in-chief of the daily edition, Samih Samara, assistant editor-in-chief of the weekly edition.

Netherlands--DE WAARHEID; Jan van der Poel, chief-administrator.

Poland--TRYBUNA LUDU; Antoni Kruczkowski, assistant editor-in-chief.

Portugal--AVANTE; Manuel Pedro, member of the Central Committee of the Portugese Communist Party.

German Democratic Republic--NEUES DEUTSCHLAND; Werner Micke, assistant editor-in-chief, Klaus Haupt, chief of the foreign policy section.

Federal Republic of Germany--UNSERE ZEIT; Ruth Kellner, chief of the culture and education section.

Reunion--TEMOIGNAGES; Paul Verges, general secretary of the Reunionese Communist Party.

Romania--SCINTEIA; Constantin Mitea, director, member of the Central Committee of the Romanian Communist Party, Ion Musa, member of the international section of the Central Committee.

Switzerland--VOIX OUVRIERE; Louis Sidler, editor-in-chief, member of the Political Bureau of the Swiss Labor Party.

Syria--NIDAL AL-SHAAB; Yakoub Garro, editor, member of the Central Committee of the Syrian Communist Party.

Tunisia--ET-TARIA; Two delegates.

Turkey--ATILIM; Selim, member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Turkey.

USSR--PRAVDA; Viktor Afanassiev, editor-in-chief, Viktor Guerassimov, in charge of the Leningrad Bureau, Dimitri Moisseenko, contributor from the foreign policy section of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

Vietnam--NHAN-DAN; Le Phu Hao.

People's Democratic Republic of Yemen--Socialist Party of Yemen, Ali Bensabeth.

Yugoslavia--KOMUNIST; Veljko Miladinovitch, editor-in-chief.

8946

CSO: 3100

## BRIEFS

GISCARD'S DEFENSE INTENTIONS--RPR leaders say they have definite information, obtained through highly placed friends in the Defense Ministry, concerning the true intentions of Giscard. The President is said to be convinced that France will not have the funds to enable it to maintain both a technologically up-to-date force de frappe and a conventional army simultaneously. He cannot, however, sacrifice the latter, as it could be needed for overseas intervention (his use of it in Zaire reinforced his credibility throughout Africa) and is needed for domestic reasons (numerous small towns in France exist only because of the nearby army installations). The President is said, therefore, to have decided to reintegrate the French force de frappe into a larger organization (European or Atlantic) after the 1981 elections. Chirac and his friends believe not a word of the Elysee's denials. [Text] [Paris LA LETTRE DE L'EXPANSION in French 10 Sep 79 p 2]

CSO: 3100

## KKE ACCUSES PASOK OF MONOPOLIZING 'CHANGE'

Athens ELEVTEROTYPIA in Greek 17 Sep 79 p 8 AT

[Address by Kharilaos Florakis, secretary general of the KKE, at the Greek Communist Youth Festival, held in the Athens suburb of Peristeri, 16 September 1979]

[Excerpts] This year's fall finds the Greek people face-to-face with a multifaceted offensive launched by local plutocracy and U.S.-NATO imperialism.

At the same time we have intensified pressure and blackmail by the Americans and NATO who want to complete the refencing of our country within NATO--who want concessions to their benefit and to the benefit of the Turkish reactionaries of Ankara at the expense of our national sovereignty. We also have an obvious attempt by them to undermine and diminish certain actions by Greece in its effort to expand relations with the Soviet Union and the surrounding socialist and Arab world on the basis of the principle of peaceful coexistence.

This today is the picture of our society. When workers oppose government policy; when workers demand adjustment of wages on the basis of the cost of living index; when farmers demand prices for their produce to cover the cost of cultivation leaving logical profits; in one word, when workers demand their rights they are faced with the special security battalions, the state strikes against them! This, however, is "new democracy," the government of the monopolies. Workers and other working people increasingly realize that their fate under capitalism is nothing but one-sided austerity and stark exploitation by local and foreign monopolies. Everybody understands why armored cars come out to block the worker's road instead of blocking that of the industrialists and large merchants.

Are not the ruling class and those who govern the country also responsible for this state of affairs? Are they not the ones who have chained Greece and keep it chained to the chariot of U.S.-NATO imperialism? Are

they not the ones who condemned our country to its energy dependence? Who was it who did not want to or was unable to exploit local energy resources?

#### In Answer to "Statistics"

Naturally, in his Salonika speech, the prime minister attempted to prove that workers' true income during the past 4 years increased by 40 percent. In his effort to support this argument he referred to the statistical data of various ministries. It is true that the figures he quoted have increased, but this does not mean that true value of wages and salaries truly increased. The truth is that, particularly during the past 2 years and much more during this current year, we have had an absolute drop in workers' incomes. The housewife's shopping basket cannot be filled with official statistical figures, but only with purchased goods, and truth tells us that much fewer goods go into this basket this year than they did last year.

#### Oil

The imperialists attempt to blame all reasons for the energy crisis upon the Arabs and other oil-producing countries. They say it is these countries which are allegedly to blame because they increase oil prices and that we are now suffering because of these price increases. To start with, it is not everybody who is suffering. It is only the workers who suffer. Despite the energy crisis and other difficulties, monopolies have not stopped making profits.

With these deliberate distortions of the truth, they try to hide the real problem. They are attempting to strike at the efforts of the developing countries for a more just economic order. In this way the imperialists attempt to undermine the struggle of the countries of the so-called "third world" against having to sell their raw materials "free of charge" in order to support the industries of the capitalist countries with their own misery and poverty.

In face of these difficulties imperialism does not hesitate to undertake high-handed actions well known from other times. It was reported in authoritative newspapers that there is already a secret plan for open U.S. military intervention in the Middle East.

The problem is that Greece must escape from this orbit of "Atlantism" which has cost and continues to cost so much to the Greek people. The country must change its foreign orientations; it must open new horizons in its international relations which will strengthen its position and contribute toward handling complicated problems such as the energy crisis, its own economic development, and protecting its environment and its security.

The problem has been raised that our country must "finally and irrevocably" withdraw from NATO and that "finally and irrevocably" we must rid ourselves of the regime of foreign bases on our territories. The KKE looks positively upon any resistance, no matter where it may originate, against U.S.-NATO pressures. At the same time, however, it also stresses that the problem of our country does not consist of choosing some other and better policy always within the framework of the dogma of "we belong to the West."

#### Change and Pasok

All parties of the democratic opposition support the need to take authority away from the right and they support change and even a certain democratic or other "socialism." Certain of these parties claim the exclusive right to be the representatives of this change but in alliance with parties which are related to or even part of "new democracy."

Parties, however, which claim government authority in alliance with parties related to or a part of new democracy and which turn against the KKE or want it in a corner, only alter the meaning of this change with their actions.

Irrespective of their declarations about "democratic socialism" and so forth, they look upon change simply as a change in government formations, as a change within the measures of Atlantism and service to monopolies. This is a change which will not go beyond the framework of the current regime. All the problems related to radical change will be relegated to forgetfulness.

There is, of course, the party of the democratic opposition, Pasok, which officially supports the slogan for change. This party supports even certain radical changes to socialism.

It is a fact that Pasok gives positive answers to the problem of dependence upon imperialism, of NATO, of U.S.-NATO bases, the EEC, the problem of monopoly sovereignty and to the problem of democracy. At the same time, however, Pasok presents itself as the exclusive representative of change. It does not consider it expedient nor even perhaps imperative to accept support from all forces which aspire for change within an anti-imperialist antimonopolistic and democratic front. We have no desire to question the validity of its program declarations. We do know that such a change is also the desire of its followers. What we do question and consider a fact is that such declarations cannot be utilized in practice unless they are accompanied by a strategy to protect the relevant strength which change presupposes. This strength lies in none other than support from the anti-imperialist and democratic forces which express the desire of the greatest majority of the people for change, the only force which is able to overcome reaction by the ruling class. Conquest of the majority of the seats in the chamber of deputies in itself is not sufficient.

This parliamentary majority must be supported by broad unity, organization and action by the forces of change. The question of change, we repeat, is not that one single party should acquire a simple parliamentary majority with which to form a government. Such a government would be incidental and powerless when confronted by the apparatus to be mobilized by the establishment in its attempt to frustrate such efforts toward change. At best, such a government could implement only certain changes which, however, will not affect the current economic and social structures and, consequently, will not be the fundamental changes needed by the country. In this way sincere declarations will be turned into insincere declarations in practice. All this is not just supposition and simple thinking.

Certain people attempt to explain this Pasok position as a fear that the ruling class will react with force in case it cooperates with the communists. What makes the ruling class react is not simply its enmity toward communists and their ideology, but the fact that with communist cooperation such declarations could become a fact.

What interests the ruling class is that such a change does not take place, and it is natural that it would turn against anyone who will attempt to implement it irrespective of whether he is described as a communist or not. For all these reasons, the problem of change does not consist of attaining a simple parliamentary majority by one party alone, but it consists of the undeviating support and cooperation of forces which fight for change, the creation of an organized mass and strong people's movement.

The question might, therefore, arise: Is it possible that after all this there is no prospect for unification of forces which support change and consequently that there is no prospect for change? Such a conclusion would be very wrong. We never depended for progress in cooperation exclusively upon the position of the leaders of any one party. If we believed in such a thing, we would have closed ourselves within ourselves and we would only have made wishes for unity. The unification of the forces for change could be made more difficult, it could be delayed as a result of the position of one or the other party, but it could never be averted.

This is why we say to the workers, to the youth, to the women, to the progressives and the democrats: If you want unity, if you want change, you must strengthen the EKE, the party which acts in all directions in an effort to unify all the people's forces in the anti-imperialist and democratic struggle.

Strengthening the KKE has, from this point of view, an imperative character today. This is so that elections will not only give the KKE the opportunity to overcome the antidemocratic obstacles and discriminations in its political work but that with its strengthened presence in the new parliamentary balance of forces, it will be able to play an even stronger role in political developments so that elections may truly become a considerable contribution to the struggle for change.

## RADICALS INVITED TO HAVE 'DIALOG' WITH LABOR UNIONS

Rome IL MESSAGGERO in Italian 23 Aug 79 p 2

[Report on interview with UIL Secretary General Giorgio Benvenuto on relations between the Radical Party and the labor unions, by Olivie O. La Stella; date and place not given]

[Text] Giorgio Benvenuto is not shocked. On the contrary, he appears pleased. "Even if not all Pannella's assertions are acceptable," he says, "I consider it a positive sign that we are beginning to speak of union questions within the Radical Party [PR]." The UIL [Italian Labor Union] secretary general is referring to the speech Pannella gave Sunday at the party's national assembly at the EUR [Universal Exposition of Rome]. Responding to Benvenuto's speech of the previous day, the radical leader--as will be remembered--had voiced severe criticism against the unitary union, accusing it, among other things, of overambition and lack of democracy.

The speech caused resentment on the part of the Cisl [Italian Confederation of Labor Unions] (Pagani: "Pannella does not know a labor union from a roadside post.") and of the CGIL [Italian General Confederation of Labor] through the mouth of Giunti (communist) and that of Ceremigna (socialist). Day before yesterday, the radical leader again spoke up, with a declaration in which he took better aim with his stinging polemic remarks (excluding, however, his accusation of "centralized and centralistic management of struggles" in the case of certain categories such as that of the metallurgical and mechanical workers) but in which, substantially, he supported them.

Benvenuto's reaction is rather calm, almost diplomatic. Obviously, the UIL leader thinks it inopportune for the union to place itself in a position of confrontation with the PR. "It cannot be ignored," he himself states elsewhere, "that many workers voted radical. Surveys made in large cities have confirmed that in certain peripheral quarters, those in which there are more worker and employee families, there was a consistent percentage of votes for the PR at the last election. I can also cite my

personal experience: at the EUR assembly I saw many UIL and CGIL workers and employees in the hall. For this reason as well," Benvenuto maintains, "it is important that a relationship of confrontation be established between the Unitary Federation and the PR, no more nor less than what exists with the other parties. Hence," he adds, "we have the meaning of the invitation made to the radicals to become more interested in social and union problems."

Does not Benvenuto think that the invitation was badly received? The UIL secretary general does not agree and points out the aspects of Pannella's sally which, in his opinion, are positive. "In the first place," he says, it is not suggested that a radical trend be created within the union movement. Nor am I shocked by the fact that the problem of democracy and autonomy are placed within the union; it is a real problem, the subject of discussion within the scope of unitarian directives. Confederal organizations have experienced and are experiencing moments of great democracy, which we claim to be a characteristic aspect of Italian unionism in the European context: meetings on labor contracts, mobilization against terrorism, the commitment to achieve the EUR line for an autonomous proposal of renewal and development of the country. However, the union has problems in this respect also: in fact, democracy is finding it difficult to extend itself to all categories (the case of the public employee, for example) and to make itself felt in the application of certain (good) laws and reforms which we succeeded in achieving. Furthermore, there are difficulties in the relationship with the youth (how can we handle them in a way which is not paternalistic?), in assistance to workers who have housing problems, in the treatment of the elderly, of marginal employees. In this area we must welcome every proposal and every suggestion no matter whence they come." Therefore, Benvenuto maintains that Marco Pannella's speech should be received as "an invitation to be still more democratic."

However, there are some points of Pannella's speech which the UIL secretary does not share: "It cannot be said," he explains, "that voting does not occur in the union and factories: we have only to cite the example of the Ottana workers, who rejected the contract drawn up for the chemists." And again: "Moreover, I believe that Pannella became confused over unitary union versus single union. It would be well for him to clarify his position in this regard. If it is a matter of rejecting the single union (which means the government union, that is, the end of democracy), we are in absolute agreement. However, we are in favor of the unitary union (which does not mean unanimous) and in no way do we intend to liquidate our experience along this line."

"Nor does the UIL," Benvenuto adds, "intend to accept the invitation to 'break' with the other members of the Unitary Federation: within the scope of that federation, the UIL wishes to continue to have its own ideas weighed in a relationship of confrontation without, however, questioning the unitary datum."

Finally, Giorgio Benvenuto admonishes Pannella for a certain opinion in the comparison of forms of autonomous unionism which he appeared to latch onto in his speech. "I sincerely hope," he says, "that he will not begin

to flirt with autonomous unionism. To be sure, it is not necessary to consider all autonomous organizations criminal, but it is said that too often those organizations have turned out to be the offspring of that 30-year government system which the same radical party says it wants to combat. There are lively unions in individual struggles, but they are absent from those of a general nature: I defy anyone to tell me what they did during the conflicts on divorce, on the union for the police, on reforms. I was apprehensive about those with whom unitary organizations, despite their lights and shadows and contradictions, have always mobilized."

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## BIOGAS PLANT TO BE CONSTRUCTED IN THE SOUTH

Rome IL MESSAGGERO in Italian 15 Aug 79 p 13

[Article by Giulio Frisoli]

[Text] Avellino--It will be the first plant of its kind in Europe. With a work cycle of only 15 hours, it will make it possible to convert garbage and sewerage into methane gas and fertilizers. It will be built in Atripalda, a town of 10,000 inhabitants not far from Avellino. It will be constructed and managed by the National Research Council, the Fund for Southern Italy and the High Heat Water Consortium.

The studies which preceded the decision to put this plant into operation were lengthy and thorough. There were hardly any precedents in the sector involving the digestion of refuse through a process which scientific nomenclature defines as "anaerobic digestion with biogas production." After a whole series of experiments, researchers succeeded, first of all, in establishing the technical possibility of achieving the method in question and then its complete economic feasibility.

Controlled dumps, with all their inconvenience, and refuse incinerators should soon go by the board and become superseded systems. Their operation is very costly. Moreover, it has apparently been ascertained that residual products from incinerators contain polluting substances, cancerous elements and even compounds which belong to the dioxine family.

Therefore, the Atripalda plant will be a great step forward in the area of the destruction and simultaneous utilization of refuse and sewerage with substantial advantages, both ecological and economic.

How will this so highly technologically advanced digestion work in practice? Refuse and sewerage will be conveyed to a single plant. A pretreatment system will eliminate nonbiodegradable material from the refuse, such as iron, paper and plastics. This system will consist of a few devices, some conveyor belts, grinders and mechanical screens. However, the nonbiodegradable products will not be discarded; certain materials will be extracted from those products to be converted and sold to various industries.

Most of the refuse will be conveyed to a large reactor in which recycling will occur. Due to the enormous quantity of active bacterial flora contained in the refuse, 90 percent will be converted into methane gas. The remaining 10 percent will not be lost; it will end up in a solid filtrate of mineralizing organic substances. In simple terms, energy will be obtained from the refuse and sewerage to be used in city and industry networks and fertilizer to be used profitably for agriculture.

We are almost certainly on the threshold of an important scientific economic and ecological turning point. Experiments conducted in the laboratory have opened new and unpublished prospects for the solution of the major problem of biodegrading and using refuse. When it is considered that, as a daily average, refuse and sewerage approach and sometimes exceed 1 kilogram per inhabitant, we find ourselves confronted with a truly substantial amount of "raw material" from which it is possible to profit in a manner rendered possible by the unceasing advances of technology.

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## VAN AARDENNE TAKES PESSIMISTIC VIEW OF ENERGY SITUATION

Amsterdam ELSEVIERS WEEKBLAD in Dutch 21 Jul 79 pp 12, 13

[Interview with Gijsbert Michiel Vredenburg Van Aardenne, Dutch minister of economic affairs, by Nic Van Rossum and Piet De Wit]

[Text] On his desk there are three stacks of paper, two of which are at least half a meter high. On a long chest next to the rear wall there is still more paper, including one truly impressive tower more than a meter tall. A furious image of appeal is framed by portfolios, notes, reports and documents.

This Friday evening, Minister of Economic Affairs Gijsbert Michiel Vredenburg Van Aardenne is on the eve of his vacation, which he will spend in Zeeland. "Yes, everything there on my desk is going with me. Finally I'll get a chance to read in peace. My vacation begins Monday evening, but this weekend I still have to work." Really, sometimes ministers look just like journalists.

Thus on the eve of the recess, the period of calm before the presentation of the new budget, we are making a general look with the minister at the most important problems currently within his portfolio.

Last week he spent 5 full days in the Catshuis with his colleagues to reach agreement on the budget. That sound more impressive than it really is, for the ministers reached agreement on expenditures; the income angle will remain blank until the Central Planning Office has brought out the Macroeconomic Estimate for 1980 by the end of August.

EW: Can we now be sure that the 1979 energy crisis is part of history?

Van Aardenne: Oh, no! I could not say that, even though it has, in fact, dropped a bit. The Saudis have raised their production by 1 million barrels

per day, but you never know when they will drop it again. In Iran they blow up another pipeline now and then. And in fact, America is using a little bit less oil, but that has to do with an economic recession. In short, I cannot say that the oil crisis is over, but rather that it does seem to have gotten a little less serious.

But that does not relieve us of the responsibility to save on the long term, in order to be less dependent on oil imports. To achieve that is much more important than to overcome a reversal such as that which occurred in Iran.

By insulating residences, you will get a hold on a very large part of our energy use and, thereby, of our energy wastage, as well. That applies just as well to industry. There is a legislative proposal before the Chamber for an energy premium to be added to the WIR [Legislation for Investment Calculation, an investment incentive program], but that is unfortunately still before the Chamber. I had hoped that they would go along with something for once.

EW: Everyone is paying attention to traffic. Many people seem to take a masochistic delight in calling for no-car days.

Van Aardenne: To be quite honest, I do not understand that either. Traffic has to carry its part of the load, but it is only 10 percent of the total energy use and 20 percent of the oil use, but further, I find it strange that everyone is now calling for no-car days. But I am not a psychologist, so I cannot get involved in masochism.

However, we already have the 100 km [speed limit] and that makes quite a difference. And furthermore, enforcement of that has been intensified.

EW: Is that true, or do they just say that in the hope that the citizens will begin to believe it?

Van Aardenne: Well, you really have to ask my colleague in the Justice Department [Dries Van Agt] that question, but he told me it was true, so it is. Besides, I personally have the impression that people are not driving as fast; that it is having its effect on the people.

#### Fallen Off

EW: Do you have any insight into the status of the oil supplies at the moment?

Van Aardenne: No, not exactly, though I do have some idea of the amount now in the storage tanks, and those supplies are large. More was imported than had been expected, but more was exported, too. But it is a fact that supplies have fallen off a bit this year.

EW: But how is the public to be persuaded to be more sparing if it becomes known that this time, just like in 1974, there was no real cause for alarm?

Van Aardenne: Oh, well, we will get by. You can already see it in residential insulation, for which there is a great demand. Besides, the price level has gone one step higher, so that the people will want to take their own measures.

EW: Is this government holding fast to the German principle that the price mechanism alone must regulate the market?

Van Aardenne: The price mechanism is very important in that respect. But the last government had already found that out. They could have kept the price of natural gas low, but they decided to let the price rise right along. And in Germany, where they freed prices altogether, they achieved savings this year. For that matter, I must admit that the figures are horribly vague.

The savings goal was set on the basis of a use level projected on the basis of a normal year, climatically as well. If you then have a month that is 3 to 4 degrees too cold, you have to revise your prognosis. If you do that for the month of May, then the gas use increased, but it had to increase because of more houses and lower temperatures. If you figure in those factors, we really saved 5 percent.

EW: Don't we just have to stop saving our gas?

Van Aardenne: Not at all, I am certainly not in favor of that now that the supply of oil is falling off. I want to save gas now because the supply of oil could drop off drastically in the future. The shift from gas to oil in our electric power plants has largely been accomplished, and that will stay that way. Of course, you could import some gas so as to spread your risk over the whole world, but the best way to spread your risk is not to make excessive demands on your own supplies.

EW: Has it become a simple choice between coal and nuclear power?

Van Aardenne: We still have to discuss this throughout our entire society, but I have no difficulty in giving my own opinion now: it is not a case of either or. It would be hard to set a nuclear power plant in a thickly populated area, that is too high a risk. But if you begin to use coal on a large scale, that too will bring about enormous environmental difficulties which include too high a level of radioactive fallout [as published].

EW: What is a thickly populated area? The Netherlands?

Van Aardenne: There really are still places in the Netherlands that are not so thickly populated. But if you look, for example, at the NEM-centrale in Amsterdam, no, that is really just not the right place for a nuclear power plant.

EW: Do you really see anything in a broad social discussion like that? It seems rather unworkable to us.

Van Aardenne: That depends entirely on how you structure it. It is certainly working in the case of the planning decisions about nuclear power. But it is a protracted process of input, and here, too, you have to objectivize the information.

EW: Protracted, you say. Do we really still have the time?

Van Aardenne: Yes, by chance we do still have the time in the Netherlands, because at this moment in the Netherlands we are all set with our electric power plants. For the time being we don't need any new ones. We still have an overcapacity.

Not until the 1990's will we need coal and nuclear power plants again. But before then there will be a few more coal power plants added.

Sensible

EW: Isn't it strange? Important oil countries are now holding tight to their oil reserves, which is disturbing our supply continuity. We are doing the same with our gas. Do we really have any right to complain then?

Van Aardenne: I never talked very reproachfully about that. I recently had a Saudi colleague here, and he told me, too: "Yes, we want to hold on to our natural resources as long as possible, so that we can try in the mean time to build up an industrial society." You may well object to that, but we do not have any right to. I feel it is sensible that they do not want to pump it all away.

EW: Sensible, you say. Was the recent OPEC decision to raise the price sharply also sensible?

Van Aardenne: No, that was not sensible. If you force something, you run the risk of straining yourself. The danger of what OPEC has done is that it will have such a recessive effect on the world economy that it will lead to a reduction in activity here which the OPEC countries will feel themselves later.

EW: What will the results be to the Netherlands?

Van Aardenne: Higher inflation. We are intentionally staying at 4.2 percent so far, but that will really probably come out to 1 percent more. Our balance of payments will not get any further shove from all this, because our gas exports will also get to be worth more, even though that runs a little behind the oil price increase.

Price Compensation

EW: Everything naturally depends on whether or not that extra 1 percent, which the employers, too, have mentioned, gets into the price compensation or is held back.

Van Aardenne: If it is held back, the effect will certainly be less, but a raw material that has become more expensive always has its effect somewhere. The method of preventing this inclusion in the calculations is not so very important to me. If you pull it out of the index figure and that leads to higher initial wage increases, you naturally haven't accomplished anything. On the other hand, it can just as well stay in the index figure if you agree on a system be developed so that a total zero line or for some incomes a reduction is shown. I feel the result is much more important than the method.

We are talking about the whole country getting poorer here. Well, if that is the case, we will just all have to suffer it.

EW: But no matter how you twist and turn, whatever system is chosen, if nothing is done, the whole price compensation plus 1.5 percent is incidental. We are not under the impression that all of this will get us out of these problems in the next year.

Van Aardenne: No, you are right. This will not get us out of it.

EW: How much money is this going to cost the government next year?

Van Aardenne: That is hard to say, it is indirect, it is the effect of a world recession. One point less world trade surely costs us about 10,000 jobs. And this will mean at least a loss of 1 point; who can say that it will not run to 2 points?

And it is all a crying shame, for it was just starting to get a little better in large sections of the economy. The Chamber of Commerce's study of the middle-sized firm did show that the nadir was probably past. And we may well assume that all of these things will not let things get better.

EW: Last week you came up with the budget for 1980. The speed at which you did that, in view of the big problems we will have to deal with next year, was surprising. On the basis of the 1981 plan, there yet remain at least 3.5 to 4 billion guilders to cover. Is all of that going to be keyed to the 1981 plan, will there be more deviations, or will the taxes be raised?

Van Aardenne: Well, there are holes in the budget, but in the regular national budget they are not so terribly high, on the order of 180 million guilders for 1980. Compared with the figures you mentioned, which I will neither confirm nor deny, it is all a matter of what you include, that will naturally fall through too. But the plan for how to cover the budget has not been filled in yet. You know that is never done before August. And for the rest, I must ask you to wait until the third Wednesday in September.

Bumps

EW: Did you have to ask for more money to support industry?

Van Aardenne: No, not more money. You know that the sector bill is in the works, and it will play a part in all of this, because money is at stake there, too. Let me be careful how I express myself here: I have always striven to replace individual grants with sector subsidies. But that is a rather bumpy road to follow, because industry has become inclined to seek out the Bezuidenhoutseweg in the Hague rather quickly in the event of any difficulty in order to beg a little more money here. Rather often in the recent past I have had to come up with a no. And that always brings with it a debate in the Chamber, as it did the last night before the recess about Hollandia in Veenendaal. That normally happens because you reach the decision that there is no future here, this firm does not meet the requirements. And we are following the requirements to the letter.

EW: How can you be so stern towards a little textile factory and not to a big shipyard in the Waterweg area?

Van Aardenne: The question is what do you want to do with the big shipyard. There has been considerable reduction in shipbuilding, and there is a reorganization in progress. You could, in fact, say: write off major shipbuilding entirely. It cannot go on the way it is; that is, it is not responsible. There is one more chance, but then RSV will have to meet the generally applicable regulations. and not think that they can come to us once again for extra money for loss financing on their orders. Shipbuilding as a whole is subsidized to the extent of from 30 to 35 guilders per man-hour already, and that cannot go on for ages. The only way it can is if there is a further reduction. And we found a chance to do that by really merging two essentially quite independent shipyards. There had been rather a bit of animosity between these two (RDM Rotterdam and VDSM Rozenburg) from top to bottom, and I still speak rather quietly about it.

EW: But why do we maintain major shipbuilding, after all?

Van Aardenne: Well, why is anybody still doing it anywhere in Europe? Just because we have so much technical know-how built up.

Pluck

EW: But if you cannot sell that technical know-how any more?

Van Aardenne: It is a question of whether or not that will never come again. Will it be all right again? Well, it will never get better for the super tankers. We finally all know that now. But there are kinds of ships to which that does not apply: Gas tankers, for example, or coal ships. And there is no one in the country who can say: Just write that all off, for there will never be any more of that.

EW: Is it just a question of not enough political pluck to close that shipyard?

Van Aardenne: It certainly is not that, for this cutback requires political fortitude as well. No, this is a matter of hanging on to something. We

had the same thing in Amsterdam. There you have a nucleus of new construction which may yet be able to expand, but which will in any case be able to be put to work on repairs even if that is not the case. At the moment, things are going rather well in Amsterdam. You must not just mark something completely off if there is a chance that something can be saved from it.

EW: But what sense is there in maintaining technical know-how if there is no demand for it? Is the government going to order gas tankers?

Van Aardenne: Once again, it would not be accepted very well if we were to order those ships in Germany.

EW: Well, in that case at least the Germans would have to pay the enormous subsidies.

Van Aardenne: Yes, but it would not be good for the entire harbor function of our country if a function which has always been regarded as essential like major shipbuilding were to disappear entirely. The total loss of new ship construction would have an adverse effect on ship repair.

EW: You have to admit that even though there is still a big construction dock with a relatively low number of employees, the employees are just keeping busy, they are totally without motivation; they are chasing the last few customers out the door and the efficiency of the shipyard resembles that of a developing country.

Van Aardenne: Yes, if that keeps on, it will be bad, but we saw the same thing in Amsterdam, and there things have gone better. I said then, too, that they could make an application on the basis of the regular regulations regarding shipbuilding which applied equally well to the other shipyards. They had to know good and well that they were not going to get a special ruling. They had to get along like everyone else, and if that could not be done because of a lack of efficiency, it would be a shame but it would be just too bad.

EW: When will the gas tankers be ordered, then?

Van Aardenne: So far there is only one definitely ordered for the Netherlands. As far as the others are concerned, it remains to be seen whether the Algerians will be so good as to order them here. Let's not sell the hide before we have shot the tankers. I think that it will happen at the first of next year.

Fokker

EW: Why is it taking so long for Fokker and Volvo to get their money?

Van Aardenne: Fokker will get its money whenever we have to talk about the F 29. But they will have to get that system straight among themselves first.

They will not come here until they have a definitive development, and if that is a good plan, it will surely not be regarded unfavorably.

EW: Does that mean that you have reserved 500 million guilders for Fokker?

Van Aardenne: It means that it is included in a long-term budget, it is not a single sum all at once. You mentioned 500 million, but I cannot give any exact figure. If Fokker can interest any others in risk participation, that will be very welcome to Economic Affairs, for that would give us a chance to do things in other areas, possibly for Fokker as well.

EW: And Volvo? What is so hard about that?

Van Aardenne: It will not be long before that decision is made. It is a matter of building in guarantees. The Council of Ministers met about that again this past Thursday.

EW: Did Gyllenhammar (the head of Volvo) beat on the table with his fist and threaten that he did not need Volvo Car in Born at all?

Van Aardenne: I don't know just exactly what he did during the negotiations, but in the telexes I get from him, he is not beating the table with his fist. He does urge that we decide on something. He has every right to do so, just as it is our right to weigh every consideration."

EW: More power on the Dutch side?

Van Aardenne: Yes, particularly because there was talk about moving certain activities such as the development department to Sweden. You naturally have to oppose that. Not by greater participation in shares, for what are shares worth these days? But by reaching good agreements and making good contracts.

EW: Who else is waiting for money now?

Van Aardenne: Right now, there are not many.

WIR [Investment Subsidy Law]

EW: Does that mean that we are finally through with the major restructuring of our industry?

Van Aardenne: Society is always moving, naturally, but that sort of major individual support really is going to be reduced.

EW: What is happening with the WIR? There are reports that the money is getting away from us. Or at least that part of it is going where it was not intended. WIR funds go to people who buy old houses from others, for instance. There is no lid on the WIR.

Van Aardenne: Naturally, the WIR is a fiscal instrument, just like the investment deduction. There do seem to be loopholes in it. The difference between it and the investment deduction is that WIR affects firms that are not making money as well, and that makes the temptation a bit greater. It is clear that we will have to find a way to be able to say in certain cases: that is an improper use of stimulation funds, or perhaps that is not improper, but that it does not make sense.

EW: Do you have the feeling that more money is pouring out of the WIR than was originally intended? Will that cause problems with the budget?

Van Aardenne: No, but I must say that we do not know very much about the WIR as yet. The first returns are just now beginning to come in. But the way it looks now, we will still be able to keep within the original estimates.

EW: You do have the impression that WIR is working?

Van Aardenne: Oh. Any subsidy works. I am not sure that the WIR has lured out really big investments, but it did make them easier. And it has clearly worked, for when the WIR became effective in 1977 (at the time as an increase in investment deduction) there was a rapid increase in investments, which has been maintained since then and has even increased a little. You could say that it ought to have been a bit more, but we are not dissatisfied. It was worked.

EW: Well, yes. But to what extent can that be ascribed to the WIR?

Van Aardenne: Naturally, you never know that exactly. You only know that if something is decreased, you see a result, and if it is increased, you see a result there, too. Then you have to find a correlation.

#### Negative

EW: You have now had a look at the budget for next year, and the first reactions from the social partners have now been heard. Are you now more optimistic or more pessimistic than you were a month ago.

Van Aardenne: Two months ago, the OPEC conference had not yet been held, therefore I can hardly say that I am more optimistic now. That is a clearly negative development, which will make the whole socioeconomic course of events in our country more difficult.

EW: The coalition agreement calls for maintaining purchasing power at the norm, and if possible, at twice the norm. That is just not there any more.

Van Aardenne: I think in fact that this national impoverishment will make that very much more difficult.

EW: Where will the base line be drawn, then?

Van Aardenne: It is hard to say, but we will have to try not to let the minimum drop below the base line.

EW: Minister Albeda recently said in ELSEVIERS WEEKBLAD that it would even be hard to keep the buying power at the norm, or about 30,000 guilders.

Van Aardenne: That is just what I meant when I said we would have to try to keep up the minimum at least.

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CSO: 3105

## 1978 USSR NUCLEAR SUB LOSS OFF NORTH NORWAY SPECULATED

Zurich NEUE ZUERCHER ZEITUNG in German 13 Sep 79 p 5

[Article by Ch. M., special correspondent of NEUE ZUERCHER ZEITUNG: "Explosive Salvage Search; Secret of a Soviet Nuclear Sub?"]

[Text] Oslo, beginning of September. — In the coastal waters of north Norway west of the island of Senja, parts of a wrecked ship bearing the legend "Senior" and lying on the bottom were sighted by the rescue cutter "Paul Johansen" 17 August with a television camera. This sighting brings nearer to its end an explosive salvage search that has been carried on with long interruptions since the 75-foot trawler "Utvik Senior," built in 1964, fitted with a new motor 10 years later, and well maintained, sank in a stormy sea on the evening of 17 February 1978 about an hour from the village of Gryllefjord on the island of Ytre Senja, about a dozen kilometers from the Oksenneset light between the Bergsfjord and the Mefjord, with the loss of all 9 fishermen on board.

## Tragedy at Sea on the Arctic Circle

Similar tragedies at sea have always been part of the hard life of the fisheries north of the Arctic Circle. Two helicopters and a P-3B "Orion" patrol plane from the nearby Andoya air base were immediately deployed in the search, as well as 2 rescue ships and 12 fishing cutters. The rocket-armed P-963 patrol boat "KNM Skjold" [KNM = Royal Norwegian Navy] and the supply "KNM Draug," which carries divers, were deployed by the Norwegian navy. Soon wreckage and articles of equipment from the after part of the trawler were found spread along the shores of the innumerable islets and cliffs south of Skaland, on the Bergsfjord, the home of five of the nine missing fishermen.

At first, because of the location of the wreckage which had obviously been driven ashore, the assumption was expressed that the vessel had run into a reef during the storm, whereas actually the wreck occurred farther out. The second theory quickly advanced, namely that the "Utvik Senior" had been capsized and sunk by a big wave, was accepted in part by the board of inquiry, but from the beginning it encountered strong opposition from the fishermen and population of Ytre Senja, who stubbornly stuck to a third version--that the "Utvik Senior" had been rammed by an unknown submarine. For at the time

of the wreck the trawler "Svein Roger" was traveling a Norwegian quarter mile (2.5 km) ahead, and its captain suddenly saw on his radar screen and followed for about 20 minutes a large northbound vessel, which approached to within about 1.5 kilometers of his boat, but could not be made out on the surface in the storm with the naked eye. Both at the time and now, every naval office in Norway declares that at that time no Norwegian or allied submarine was operating in the area in question. Just 10 days earlier, 12 to 15 km west of the Keila light, and thus in the approximate location of the wreck, another fishing cutter had suddenly found itself on a collision course with a surfacing submarine, which immediately dived again and disappeared. The episode was reported in the press exactly 7 days before the "Utvik Senior" wreck.

#### Private Search

In the course of the search for the missing boat, about 30 km<sup>2</sup> was searched immediately, and about half of that twice. The tender "Draug" was taken off the search at the beginning of March, and at the end of June the navy completely stopped its participation, with a statement that the search would be resumed "as soon as the naval command had the necessary vessels at its disposal again." In anger and disappointment at the fact that they had been abruptly left in the lurch with regard to further attempts to clear up the matter, an Ytre Senja fishermen's association to get another search under way by spending money. Because of the climate, that was not begun until this year. An official grant of 140,000 kroner added to the 60,000 kroner raised by the fishermen finally made it possible to put the "Paul Johansen" on the job again. A few days before the new salvage operation was threatened with being broken off for lack of money, it found the bridge portions of the "Utvik Senior," which are so crumpled and twisted that a collision has to be assumed as the cause of the wreck. The bridge was not immediately raised, and the hull has not yet been found.

#### Conspicuous Soviet Ship Movements

Since the end of June 1978 there have been a series of incidents involving Soviet fishing boats and freighters in Norwegian coastal waters off Finnmark east of the North Cape which violated the regulations in force within the Norwegian 4-mile territorial zone. On 27 June, in spite of refusal of permission by the Norwegian police in Vardo, four Soviet ships anchored off the Nordkinn Peninsula, as did a Soviet wood freighter on 14 July. On the same day the Soviet ambassador was summoned by the foreign minister in Oslo. Exactly a week later he made the same trip on his own initiative to explain the violations, which the captains had at first justified by "bad weather" and "motor trouble," and to promise that the matter would be taken up with them in their home ports. After a further incident had taken place on 18 July, the Norwegian coast guard forced a Soviet freighter to Vardo to be searched on 19 and 20 July and then quickly released it--on the day of the Soviet démarche in Oslo--when the Leningrad shipping line stated that it was ready to pay any applicable fines. In the same area an East German freighter barely escaped a Norwegian patrol boat. That was on 22 July. On 23 July a P-3B "Orion" again sighted a Soviet freighter within the 4-mile limit.

The Finnmark incidents aroused alarm and confusion among the Norwegian public. Oslo took great care to avoid any "provocation" of the eastern superpower. The search for the Kremlin's motives was quickly supplanted by the crash of a Tu-16 on Hope Island 28 August 1978 and by the consequent dispute about an examination of the trip recorder. The Soviets exerted massive pressure. The Norwegian government held firm in the case. In form, to be sure, Oslo attempted to be almost excessively conciliatory, after the Finnmark incidents had been played down less than a month before. What surprisingly was never made public was the fact that the Finnmark incidents which were fading away in August and September were merely the last phase of extensive Soviet ship movements on the North Cape route, which began in March and had in the meantime systematically searched a large area in parallel lines on the high seas, finally leading to the coast. Delays in this search could be observed, since part of the nominally civilian vessels engaged in it could only be brought in gradually. As early as July 1978 the conjecture was expressed that the Russians were searching "for a piece of apparatus." Actually they were not undertaking any cartographic measurements and were not taking any soundings--which could have been done better by submarine anyhow--but were engaged for months on a search mission with underwater television cameras, sonar apparatus, and radiation detectors in a part of the sea through which their strategic submarines pass when they move from their bases on the Kola Peninsula to their battle stations in the North Atlantic. On such missions submarines only receive messages and, logically enough, do not send any, so that the home base does not always know the precise position of each one. Furthermore, navigational errors are possible even with the most modern equipment.

#### Unanswered Questions

After a certain period of time the fishermen of Ytre Senja were hardly encouraged in their stubborn insistence on clearing up the cause of the "Utvik Senior" disaster by the officials. The Finnmark incidents were only partly elucidated. The incident of the crash of the long-range reconnaissance plane on Hope Island demonstrated how unpleasant it can be to confront the Soviets even about a "black box." The non-nuclear Soviet submarine salvaged by the Americans in the Pacific years ago was still relatively small. As far as is known, there are no salvage vessels yet for treasure hunts for larger objects. The search off Senja is still in private hands. Perhaps a government take-over of the search might gain time to dull the explosive and generally embarrassing story of the wreck, with all its implications, before the question that is cropping up everywhere and whispered more and more in Oslo, namely whether the Kremlin has lost a nuclear submarine in Norwegian coastal waters, must be answered--with all the possibly unpleasant consequences.

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## NORWEGIANS SKEPTICAL OF SWISS CLAIMS OF SOVIET SUB SEARCH

## Soviet Actions Still Puzzling

Oslo AFTENPOSTEN in Norwegian 15 Sep 79 p 9

[Article by Knut Falchenberg]

[Text] At the defense department there is 100 percent rejection of the speculations in NEUE ZUERCHER ZEITUNG that the Soviet merchantmen that were involved in boundary episodes during the summer of 1978 off the coast of Finnmark were really looking for a wrecked atomic submarine. The generally well-oriented Swiss newspaper also connects a possible submarine wreck with the loss of the fishing vessel "Utvik Senior" in February 1978, in which the crew of nine were lost.

The newspaper's correspondent for Scandinavia writes in his report from Norway that the boundary episodes that took place at the end of July last year constituted only the last phase of a system of Russian ship movements that began in March, and that Soviet vessels, with the aid of underwater cameras, sonar, and equipment to measure the radioactivity, had carried out a search lasting several months in international waters. According to the correspondent, Oslo keeps wondering whether the Russians lost an atomic submarine in Norwegian coastal waters. The cause of the submarine wreck would be collision with the fishing boat "Utvik Senior."

Secretary of State Johan Jørgen Holst, in the Ministry of Defense, tells AFTENPOSTEN that the very few cases in which Soviet vessels last summer violated the rules in force for ship traffic had nothing to do with any search operation. It is also nonsense to suggest that the episodes were a part of any sort of search maneuver that began in March. These matters have been settled with the Russians.

Holst says that the depth situation makes it almost an impossibility to operate a submarine in that channel. Moreover, it is quite improbable that such a submarine would sink after collision with a fishing vessel. Lastly, it is inconceivable that a wrecked submarine would not be found in this area, says Holst.

Leading military experts with whom AFTENPOSTEN has been in contact also reject the theory of search operations as "incomprehensible" and "fantasy."

Daniel Heradstveit, a research worker with the Norwegian Foreign Policy Institute, has done special research on the boundary incidents of the summer of 1978, with the aid of both Norwegian and American sources. He tells AFTENPOSTEN that no adequate explanation has been found for the behavior of the Soviet vessels that summer. For that reason speculations are continuing. It may be that sharpened Norwegian alertness led to the discovery of Russian violations that otherwise would not have been noticed, and that the Russian vessels did not really deviate particularly from their usual traffic patterns. To the extent that the Russians had any purpose behind their action, it is probable that the purpose lay on the politico-psychological plane. Researchers are puzzled, however, for if the Russians had wanted to send a political signal, it would have been followed up with a later initiative. No such initiative ever came, says Heradstveit.

#### Sub-Ship Collision Called Unlikely

Oslo AFTENPOSTEN in Norwegian 15 Sep 79 p 9

[Article by Rolf L. Larsen]

[Text] The fishing boat "Utvik Senior" could never have done such damage to an atomic submarine that the submarine sank. That theory sounds quite fantastic and improbable, and is completely untenable, Lt Cdr Terje Torkelsen of the submarine squadron at Olavsvern, Tromsø, told AFTENPOSTEN.

Torkelsen is a marine engineer in the squadron, and has had many years' experience aboard submarines himself. In 1976 he assisted the commission of inquiry after the loss of the fishing boat "Fritz Erik," in the commission's work to consider whether it had been run down by a submarine. The "Fritz Erik" went down in almost the same spot as the "Utvik Senior."

"That time, too, it was asserted that the cause of the loss must have been that the fishing boat was run down by a submarine. But nobody would stick to that assertion when the wreckage was found on land, for then the real cause was found quickly," says Torkelsen.

The commission found that the "Fritz Erik" had gone down because the boat did not have watertight hatch covers and superstructure. It had broken down in the bad weather because of poor stability. Partly on the basis of the experience the commission acquired that time with regard to the submarine theory, the commission of inquiry on the "Utvik Senior" concludes in its report as follows:

"None of the pieces of wreckage indicates collision, either with a submarine or with any other vessel. Under the poor weather conditions and with the limited depth that there is in that channel, a submarine would not be able

to dive. After the extensive underwater search that was undertaken in the actual area for such a collision, no wreckage from a submarine was found, either."

In the article in the NEUE ZUERCHER ZEITUNG it is asserted that the trawler "Svein Roger," which was in the area where the "Utvik Senior" was lost, observed a rather large northbound ship on its radar only 1.5 kilometers away.

"The same unknown vessel was also seen on radar from the shore," the newspaper writes.

According to information obtained by AFTENPOSTEN, no such vessel was registered by radar on shore. In the commission's report it is concluded that the vessel that was seen on the radar was the fishing boat "Sula," which was also in the area. The boat was hove to in the position where the "Svein Roger" saw another vessel, says the report.

Judge Halfdan Fugleberg was chairman of the commissions of inquiry on the "Fritz Erik" and the "Utvik Senior." His comments on the assertion in the Swiss newspaper are as follows:

"That sounds completely fantastic. The commission concluded that the cause of the loss of the 'Utvik Senior' is either that the boat was icebound and capsized or that it ran into an underwater reef and went down. There is nothing in the pieces of wreckage that we found that indicates that the boat was involved in a collision."

In other informed quarters AFTENPOSTEN was informed that none of the pieces of wreckage found by a search operation mounted by the fishermen themselves this summer indicates that the "Utvik Senior" had a collision, either. It was emphasized to AFTENPOSTEN that during the official searches, too, fishermen in the area participated in the search work to find the two vessels.

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## GOVERNMENT DEBATES PROBLEM OF FEDERALISM, WESTERN SWITZERLAND

Zurich NEUE ZUERCHER ZEITUNG in German 28 Aug 79 p 11

[Article by O.F.: "Reexamination of Federalism in Western Switzerland"]

[Text] Lausanne, August. Though pleas for federalism have been the usual stock in trade in French Switzerland, they have been presented in a more careful manner recently. Many French Swiss sense that, in light of the complex reality, they can no longer get by with the support of federation, but that the old approaches have to be modified to keep in line with present needs. In Fribourg's LIBERTE, Francois Gross indirectly criticized the cantonal government of Vaud because of its blunt rejection of the demand for support of a general revision of the federal constitution, and generally spoke of the misuse of federalism as a cover for egotistic or "nationalistic" special interests. "To campaign against a supposed national domination by the German Swiss, and to pound on the table of the Federal Council, is the behavior of a group oriented towards the application of pressure tactics," he wrote, apparently primarily with an eye on the palace of Lausanne [seat of cantonal government].

## Cooperation Instead of Polarization

The French Swiss can no longer simply operate with the universal concept of cantonal sovereignty employed as a defensive weapon, now that they are confronted with the tremendously increased authority of the federation and with the power of the national state, which has been inevitably strengthened by the course of events, as well as with the enlarged problems within the cantons and communes. This is especially true since they have scarcely advanced further along the path of "horizontal federalism," than have the German areas of the country. So far they have shown more unity in the fight against the majority than through positive achievements in keeping with "cooperative federalism." Thus the realization is slowly dawning that one can no longer, as had been customary, play the federation, the cantons and the communes against each other, but that a cooperation based on trust must replace polarization.

## A Suggestion by the Government of Vaud

Typical for this new way of thinking was the response by the government of Vaud in the hearing concerning the Problem Concerning the Division of Authority Between the Federal Government and the Cantons. The gentlemen in the palace of Lausanne did respond in a somewhat unfriendly tone, as they did with the question directed at the Federal Council concerning the purpose of a double consultation, once in connection with the current hearing and also in connection with the inquiry concerning the general revision of the federal constitution. The Vaud legislature however provided constructive ideas on the subject at hand, as, for example, the suggestion to clearly define those "primary" duties of the central government (foreign policy, national defense, certain economic decisions), and those tasks which are to be handled by the cantons with their own means. A third "mixed" area which should be defined, is to include those tasks which federation and cantons can solve jointly.

## Good Grades for Federal President Huerlimann

The debate concerning a new and more intensive cooperation between the federation, the cantons, cities and communes has been considerably stimulated by Federal President Huerlimann's address of 1 August. Rarely has a speech at a federation observance found a warm echo in the French part of Switzerland. The conversation which Federal President Huerlimann had in Pochavo with journalists of the German Swiss television, was carefully noted and extensively commented upon. The president's plea for increased authority for the cantons, which, in comparison to the federation, have grown financially stronger again, and whose solid foundations form the prerequisites for a strong federation, has met a special echo. For the first time, the French Swiss heard an evaluation from the mouth of a federal president, which they perceived as a revision of the expert's draft for a general revision of the federal constitution; at least in as far as the division of authority between federation and cantons is concerned.

## Citizen, Commune, Canton, Federation

Since the August address by the federal president, the commentaries of several French Swiss newspapers revolve around the question, what constitutes the innermost nature of federation. Michel Jaccard, the editor-in-chief of the radical NOUVELLE REVUE DE LAUSANNE believes it to be the "concept of a bond," the trusting cooperation of countless local units at all levels, symbolized by the plain local observances on 1 August, which offer a contrast to the, certainly grandiose, spectacle of a centralized government and military reviews (the reference being of course to the 14th of July in Paris). Jacques-Simon Eggly writes in JOURNAL DE GENEVE, the necessity of maintaining a just balance between the citizen, the commune, the canton and the federation is greater than ever before, but the "instinct" for such a balance is also more alive among the Swiss people.



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